An Institutional Analysis of Differences: The Design of Masters' Programs in Public Affairs

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(ABSTRACT)

Early studies in the sociological stream of new institutionalism contributed much to the study of organization, especially in illuminating organizational isomorphism that might appear in organizational fields. Yet, at the same time, they were limited in accounting for organizational differences in the design of institutions.

To help explain such differences, this study introduces a conceptual framework that brings together the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism with recent studies in new institutionalism. The framework includes multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems, all of which generate particular contexts that convey varying identities and produce organizational variations in institutional design.

To examine the utility of the conceptual framework, I applied it to the design of 240 masters' programs in public affairs that are members of NASPAA, APPAM, or both. I found much variation in the coverage and structure of the programs' curricula. I discovered, for example, that programs that are affiliated only with NASPAA tend to be located in political science, public administration, and public affairs units; to be ranked in the lower-tier; to have been established in 1970 or later; to have the program mission of producing public leaders; to offer MPAd degrees; and to require higher proportions of core hours to be taken in public management. In contrast, programs affiliated only with APPAM or with both NASPAA and APPAM typically are housed in public policy units, ranked in the upper-tier, were founded in 1969 or earlier, focus on generating policy analysts, offer MPP degrees, and require higher proportions of core hours in public policy.

Among the implications of these findings are that public affairs education continues to be polarized into two camps, traditional public administration and public policy. The field still lacks agreement about the courses that should be taken and how they should be taught. It seems that differing interpretations of what public affairs is and how it should

be taught have helped generate the variation in the design of masters' programs in public affairs.

The results of the empirical analyses also demonstrate the utility of the conceptual framework for explaining institutional differences (and similarities). More importantly, the concept of identity may offer a helpful way to combine several key features in studying organizations, including micro versus macro approaches, old versus new institutionalisms, and organizational theory versus organizational behavior. Eventually, this idea promises to enrich the analysis of institutional similarities and differences.

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July 2004

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Purposes of the Study

The sociological stream of new institutionalism has had considerable influence in studying organizations. Early studies (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Meyer & Rowan 1977) contributed to an understanding of why organizations in an organizational field adopted the same institutions.[1] They mostly failed, however, in explaining why these organizations had different institutional designs, which they operated in varying ways.[2]

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[1]. Defining an institution is a vexing task because of its multifaceted nature. In fact, scholars have tended to define an institution in various ways, using it to refer to "any formal organizations, to a particular type of organization, to governance or rules systems, and to formal structures and informal rules and procedures that structure conduct" (Hult 2003: 150). Meyer, et al., for example, see institutions as "cultural rules giving collective meaning and value to particular entities and activities, integrating them into the larger schemes" (1994: 10). Jepperson states that "[a]ll institutions are frameworks of programs or rules establishing identities and activity scripts for such identities" (1991: 146). Scott, who suggested one of the most popular definitions of institutions in the omnibus way, argues that "*institutions are symbolic and behavioral systems containing representational, constitutive, and normative rules together with regulatory mechanisms that define a common meaning system and give rise to distinctive actors and action routines*" (1994a: 68; emphasis in original). The common denominators in these definitions are that an institution is a framework, a system, or a mechanism and that an institution provides actors with meaning, value, identities, scripts, or rules that may govern their activities.

Here, I define an institution as a set of rules, requirements, logics, norms, and values that govern individual (organizational) behaviors. In other words, an institution is a governing system that "consist[s] of *cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities*" (Scott 1995: 33; emphasis in original). At the same time, it is a system that infuses meanings into individual (organizational) interactions. It includes specific organizational practices [e.g., strategic planning and performance measurement, Total Quality System (TQM), and standard reporting mechanisms], structures (such as bureaucracy, network), and procedures (e.g., standard operating procedures). The creation of an institution is likely to be accompanied by the emergence of new organizational field and actors.

[2]. For example, U.S. federal agencies have implemented equal employment and affirmative action programs under the authority of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended by the Equal Employment Act of 1972. The "Affirmative Action Review: Report to the President" (1995) shows, however, that not only had U.S. federal

The primary purpose of the dissertation is to construct a conceptual framework to account for different institutional designs among organizations in an organizational field by integrating Philip Selznick's tradition of old institutionalism and more recent studies in new institutionalism. The dissertation then explores the framework's use by applying it to the design of professional masters' degree programs in public affairs.[3]

Theoretical Focus

The influence of sociological new institutionalism can be traced to the publication of Meyer and Rowan's seminal article, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony" (1977). Early studies in this stream contributed to shedding light on the organizational isomorphism that appeared due to the conformity of organizations to the institutional environment at the level of the organizational field. Nevertheless, these analyses were criticized for their lack of consideration of "in-field variation" (Hung & Wittington 1997: 553), especially at the level of individual organizations.[4]

Recent research has recognized that "although all organizations within a given institutional field or sector are subject to the effects of institutional processes within the context, all do not experience them in the same way or respond in the same manner" (Scott 2001: 161). Indeed, organizational researchers, including new institutionalists in sociology, have sought to address organizational diversity. This endeavor has been carried out in two ways. One has paid more attention to elaborating on the characteristics of the *external* institutional environment; it redefined the attributes of the institutional environment as being multiple, inconsistent, and conflicting, which produce differences

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agencies adopted affirmative action to varying degrees but they also had different programs and approaches.

[3]. Here, the professional master's degree program is the focal (educational) institution. It provides organizational members (faculty, administrative staff, and students) with a cognitive map of roles (such as teaching), normative guidelines for behavior (e.g., prohibition of discrimination and cheating), and regulative rules of action (e.g., required courses or credit hours).

[4]. For instance, Stinchcombe states that "[t]he institutions of the new institutionalism do not have enough causal substance and enough variance of characteristics to explain such various phenomena" (1997: 1).

in institutional designs among organizations (Brunsson 1989; D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price 1991; Hung & Wittington 1997). The other has turned its attention to factors *inside* organizations and added the taste of a rational choice perspective in explaining the variation in designing institutions (Greenwood & Hinging 1996; Lounsbury 2001). This view has noted the possibility that differing organizational goals, directions, values, and interests might entail varying micro-translations of the same macro-institutional environment in individual organizations, which in turn might generate diversity in the design of institutions (DiMaggio 1988; Goodstein 1994; Oliver 1991; 1992; Powell 1991).

Yet, as extensions or modifications of early studies, both attempts have failed to provide a comprehensive framework to account for differences in institutional designs among organizations. They have focused instead on either internal or external factors in explaining diversity, and they have confined their attention to illuminating the relationships between individual organizations and the institutional environment.

To address such evident limitations, here I propose a comprehensive framework for explaining variations in the design of institutions by including elements of both the internal and external approaches in new institutionalism and by adding the part of Selznick's old institutionalism that emphasized organizational relationships to *localized* environments.[5] The resulting framework highlights three contextual factors – multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems – that influence institutional design. The framework is based on two important assumptions. First, explaining variations in the design of institutions involves examining factors at multiple levels of analysis; second, the three factors contain a variety of distinctive identities that organizations may consider in designing institutions.

Empirical Application

In order to illustrate how such a conceptual framework might be employed and to probe its possible utility, I apply it to accounting for differences and similarities in the

[5]. In his study of Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), Selznick (1966) paid special attention to the relationships between organizations and the local environment, and accentuated organizational adaptive efforts. He argued that organizational variations occurred because organizations tended to institutionalize different characters in interaction with their localized environments.

design of masters' degree programs in public affairs. Since the first such program was established at Syracuse University in 1924, numerous universities have offered professional masters' degree programs in public affairs.[6] According to Barth (2002: 259), "all MPA programs are not equal" in curricular components and structures. Indeed, masters' programs in public affairs are designed in different ways, stressing distinctive aspects. Yet, no study has provided comprehensive information about how such programs are designed.[7] Thus, the empirical focus of this study is to explore the ways that academic units[8] of public affairs design masters' programs. More specifically, it will examine whether there are differences in the design of masters' programs in public affairs, and, if so, why they exist.

Scope of Study

The empirical focus of the dissertation is limited to exploring the impact of the three contextual factors in the conceptual framework on the design of masters' programs in public affairs.[9] To examine program design (the dependent variable in the analysis), I will look at the curricular components and structures of masters' programs. Defining the institutional environment (one of two clusters of independent variables) is one of the critical issues in explaining variations in masters' program design. An "institutional environment," as a part of the general environment, has some specific characteristics. As

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[6]. Hereafter, the term "masters' programs in public affairs" will be used to refer to professional masters' degree programs in public affairs. "Public affairs" will be used to indicate the field as a whole, including public administration, public management, and public policy.

[7]. Previous studies (e.g., Cleary 1990; Roeder & Whitaker 1993) were limited in illuminating the overall design of masters' programs, since they focused only on core curriculum or areas of specialization.

[8]. Masters' programs are located in various academic units, including colleges, schools, departments, centers, institutes, and programs.

[9]. This study is not intended to assess the effectiveness or the relevance of masters' programs in public affairs. See deLeon and Steelman (2001) for a discussion of the evaluation of program effectiveness and relevance.

I use it here, the institutional environment is composed of a set of rules, requirements, logics, norms, and values provided by such institutional intermediaries as the state, professional associations, and other social organizations. The major difference between earlier and more recent studies in new institutionalism is that the latter have started to note that any particular institutional environment may not be internally consistent, since these institutional intermediaries are likely to provide competing or even contradictory beliefs, logics, rules, or requirements. For example, the standards or criteria provided by associations (e.g., the Sierra Club) and by governmental agencies (e.g., the EPA) might differ.

Competing institutional logics of how public affairs should be defined and studied have become deeply embedded in the field of public affairs. These logics have influenced views of "what" and "how" public affairs should be taught. In public affairs, two professional associations – the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) and the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) – provide different institutional logics of how masters' programs should be designed. In defining the institutional environment, this study is limited to examining the institutional logics provided by the two associations that offer institutional membership.[10]

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[10]. There are a variety of professional associations in the field of public affairs such as the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA), and the International Personnel Management Association (IPMA). Only NASPAA and APPAM, however, were selected for the study, because they offer *institutional* membership for *academic* institutions.

The Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA) also offers institutional membership for academic institutions. However, APSIA was not included in this study, since the number of U.S. institutional members is quite small (8 out of 29 member schools), and some of them are already included as members of APPAM or NASPAA. The following U.S. schools have memberships in APSIA: School of International Service, American University; School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University; Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University; Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University; Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; and Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Unlike the new institutional approaches in organizational sociology that focused on the impact of the institutional environment on organizations, Philip Selznick's version of old institutionalism attended to the importance of localized environments in affecting organizational behavior (1966; 1984). One of his basic arguments is that organizational characters are likely to be shaped by where organizations are located, since character is influenced primarily by interactions with the localized environment. Following this argument, organizational positions (a second cluster of independent variables) refer to where a program is located in both space and time. Organizational position is tapped by the locations of programs in certain kinds of academic units, in public or private universities, and in higher or lower reputation settings, and by when a program was founded. The study does not include the possible effects on program design of interorganizational networks (e.g., intercollegiate consortia) and geographical location (e.g., rural, suburban, urban, and metropolitan areas).

The final contextual factor directs attention inside organizations. In this study, organizational belief systems serve as an intermediary variable in accounting for why organizations choose particular practices. The belief systems considered here refer to faculty members' beliefs about the courses in public affairs that should be taught, which are tapped by the program missions that programs claim to pursue and the degrees they offer.

Contributions

This study suggests a conceptual framework for explaining differences in the design of institutions, employing multilevel analysis and introducing the concept of identity. It then applies the framework to examining variations in the design of masters' programs in public affairs. In doing so, the dissertation strives to make several theoretical and practical contributions to the study of organizations and public affairs.

Theoretical Contributions

In my view, the analysis of institutional differences and similarities at a single level of analysis is not enough; instead, it is necessary to examine factors at several levels

to account for institutional variation. This study does so by suggesting a conceptual framework that explains institutional design at the organizational, population, and field levels of analysis.

According to Hirsch & Lounsbury (1997: 415), "[a]pproaches to the study of institutions should not be arbitrarily limited to some structurally determined paradigm or restricted to the study of action. What is needed instead is attention to ongoing sociological debates regarding the construction of more complex and complete forms of explanation that make links from the micro to the macro and account for the ways in which various levels of explanation interpenetrate." This study seeks to do this by proposing a way to integrate more macro (external) approaches that accentuate the influence of the institutional environment on organizations and more micro (internal and old institutionalist) approaches that stress the richness of organizational actions in responding to such an environment. Yet, neither approach alone usefully captures the evidently reciprocal nature of the influence between organizations and the environment. Even though organizations are affected by the institutional environment, they are rarely captives. Instead, they strive to adapt to the institutional environment by interpreting and making sense of it, and they sometimes actively engage in shaping that environment. The conceptual framework introduced here may contribute to ongoing efforts to reconcile both determinism and voluntarism in organizational study and the old and the new institutionalisms.

In addition, this study seeks to more clearly define organizational environments. The early studies in the sociological stream of new institutionalism tended to distinguish the institutional from the technical environment. Yet, the two environments may not so easily distinguished; rather, they may be better viewed as anchoring the ends of a continuum. The dissertation also broadens the concept of organizational environment by considering both institutional and localized environments, in contrast to works in new institutionalism that focused only on the former. This too can help bridge the old and new institutionalism[11] and ultimately enrich the analysis of institutional differences.

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[11]. Some institutional researchers see combining macro and micro approaches as the only way of reconciling old and new institutionalism (e.g., Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Hung & Wittington 1997; KarnØe 1997; Scott 1994a). I believe that to complete such a reconciliation, institutional theorists also must bring together the institutional and the

Finally, organizations quite often face situations that raise questions about who or what they are. By introducing the concept of identity, this study proposes a plausible mechanism to explain how organizations construct and maintain particular institutional designs. The three contextual factors used in the study, which embed particular identities, serve as niches to which organizations can resort when designing their institutions. These niches are likely to convey different logics, expectations, demands, ideas, and beliefs about how institutions should be designed; organizations are likely to engage in niche-searching activity. Since multiple institutional logics and organizational positions may provide several competing forms for institutional design, organizations choose particular forms based on their organizational belief systems. I will contend that this choice is nothing less than an organizational endeavor to construct and maintain the character (or "identity") of its institution, which may entail a distinctive institutional design. The close investigation of relationships among identities at different levels of analysis provides a potentially powerful way of analyzing why organizations design their institutions as they do. The institutional analysis of differences using the concept of identity also contributes to bridging the increasingly obsolete distinctions between organizational theory and organizational behavior in the organizational literature.

Practical Contributions

Although numerous masters' programs operate in public affairs, no study has produced a comprehensive picture of how such programs are designed. This dissertation's empirical examination of institutional differences among professional masters' degree programs in public affairs provides systematic descriptive information. Such data may be of interest to constituencies such as prospective students, governmental agencies, private organizations (including nonprofits), and public affairs faculty.

Compared to previous analyses, this study includes more comprehensive coverage of the numerous dimensions of program design and examines both NASPAA and

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localized environments. In this study, the concept of identity serves as the link in bridging the old and the new institutionalisms.

APPAM members.[12] More importantly, it seeks to *explain* why such differences exist. Such material provides further insight into public affairs as a field and may point to specific opportunities (and constraints) in designing and redesigning programs.

Organization of Dissertation

Chapter Two begins with reviewing four variants of the institutional approach in organizational sociology: early studies in new institutionalism, the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism, and recent works in new institutionalism (labeled the internal and external approaches). These serve as the basic theoretical foundation for a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional design among organizations. To facilitate comparison of the four, I examine each on four dimensions: conceptualization of the environment, level(s) of analysis, relationship between organizations and the environment, and conceptualization of institutions and institutionalization. Finally, I delineate my own theoretical positions on each of these dimensions and outline several assumptions.

In Chapter Three, the conceptual framework is introduced, which combines Selznick's old institutionalism with recent work in new institutionalism. I discuss the major components of the framework: institutional design (the dependent variable), organizational belief systems (an intermediate variable), and multiple institutional logics and organizational positions (independent variables). I also examine how the concept of identity fits in the relationships between institutional design and the three contextual variables. I explore as well the interplay among identities, choices, and sensemaking in designing institutions.

To probe the utility of such a framework, Chapter Four applies it to identifying and explaining differences in the design of masters' programs in public affairs. Several propositions and hypotheses about possible relationships between program design and the

[12]. Previous studies mainly focused on investigating core curricula (Breaux, et al. 2003; Roeder & Whitaker 1993) or core curricula and areas of specialization (Cleary 1990). They also examined programs that were either NASPAA members (Cleary 1990: 170) or accredited by NASPAA members (Breaux, et al. 2003; Roeder & Whitaker 1993), although some of their samples included those that also were members of APPAM.

three contextual factors are introduced, and the variables and indicators used are discussed. The empirical analysis employs a multilevel approach, with levels of analysis ranging from the program to the organizational field. I also delineate the data sources I relied upon and discuss several limitations of the study.

Chapter Five describes the features of the masters' programs in public affairs that were examined and reports the results of testing the hypotheses presented in Chapter Four. In addition, the applicability of the conceptual framework and the performance of the hypotheses are evaluated.

Finally, Chapter Six briefly summarizes the findings and discusses implications for public affairs and for organizational scholarship. It also suggests possible directions for future study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

In order to examine differences in institutional designs among organizations in an organizational field, I seek to bring together the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism with recent works in new institutionalism. In this chapter, I review these institutional streams, which serve as the basic theoretical foundation for Chapter Three's construction of a conceptual framework to explain organizational differences in institutional design.

Discussion begins by examining several early studies[13] in new institutionalism, focusing on their accounts of organizational isomorphism. I also discuss the strengths and weaknesses of these early studies, paying much attention to their limitations in addressing organizational diversity due to an apparent preoccupation with the influence of the institutional environment. Then, I explore the ways that old and recent "new institutional" studies have addressed organizational diversity rather than organizational isomorphism. Throughout, to facilitate comparison of the approaches, I probe each on four dimensions: conceptualization of the environment, focal level of analysis, relationship between organizations and the environment, and conceptualization of institutions and institutionalization. Finally, I delineate my own theoretical positions on these dimensions. These, along with several assumptions, will serve as the foundation for constructing the conceptual framework in Chapter Three.

Early Studies in the "New Institutionalism" of Organizational Sociology

The major concern of the early studies in new institutionalism was to provide a plausible mechanism to account for organizational isomorphism in organizational fields. These studies had a major influence on studying organizations by emphasizing the social aspects of organizational life and by explaining organizational activities as the pursuit of

[13]. Hereafter, "early studies" will be used for referring to earlier works in the new institutional theory of organizational sociology.

"legitimacy" rather than efficiency (Meyer & Rowan 1977).[14] The early researchers in new institutionalism saw legitimacy "as an organizational 'imperative' that [was] both a source of inertia and a summons to justify particular forms and practices" (Selznick 1996: 271). Stated differently, for them, such an imperative was a driving force in imposing organizational conformity with the institutional environment, which in turn produced organizational isomorphism in an organizational field.

The following sub-section examines the theoretical cores of early works, focusing on their arguments about organizational isomorphism.

Early Studies in the New Institutionalism and Organizational Isomorphism

According to Meyer and Rowan, "[a]s rationalizing institutional myths arise in existing domains of activity, extant organizations expand their formal structures so as to become isomorphic with these new myths" (1977: 345).[15] They delineated the theoretical core of the new institutional theory:

> Many formal organizational structures arise as reflections of rationalized institutional rules. The elaboration of such rules in modern states and societies accounts in part for the expansion and increased complexity of formal organizational structures. Institutional rules function as myths which organizations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability, and enhanced survival prospects. Organizations whose structures become isomorphic with the myths of the institutional environment – in contrast with those primarily structured by the demands of technical production and exchange – decrease internal coordination and control in order to maintain legitimacy. Structures are decoupled from each other and from ongoing activities. In place of coordination, inspection, and evaluation, a logic of confidence and good faith is employed (Meyer & Rowan 1977: 340).

[14]. Just as efficiency is a key concept for explaining organizational behavior in economic (or "rational-actor") approaches, legitimacy is a major factor in accounting for organizational behavior in institutional theory. See also Clark and Mueller (1996: 126-127) for more discussion of the differences between social and economic approaches to studying organizations.

[15]. Interestingly, Meyer and Rowan (1977: 50) contended that as institutionalization proceeded, organizations were likely to experience changes in the vocabularies they used to describe organizational structures and processes that were isomorphic with those used to delineate institutional norms, rules, and requirements.

DiMaggio and Powell elaborated on this idea of isomorphism, asking "why there is such startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practices" (1991b: 64). Their basic argument was that once a field was established, it was likely to undergo a process of structuration – the institutionalization of an organizational field (DiMaggio 1991).[16] As the field became institutionalized, organizational structures and practices came to be increasingly similar as a consequence of organizational conformity to institutional rules and norms; organizational homogeneity appeared to be prominent.[17] They suggested three patterns of institutional isomorphism[18] caused by different types of institutional pressures: coercive, mimetic, and normative (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 67-74).

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[16]. DiMaggio and Powell described the process of institutionalizing (structuring) an organizational field by dividing it into four stages:

(1) an increase in the extent of interaction among organizations in the field;
(2) the emergence of sharply defined interorganizational structures of domination and patterns of coalition;
(3) an increase in the information load with which organizations in a field must contend;
(4) and the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organizations that they are involved in a common enterprise (1991b: 65).

[17]. It is worth noting that Scott and Meyer (1991) argued that when an environment is uncertain because of the lack of a centralized authority, organizations may become similar in form to others in order to reduce the risks that they otherwise might incur. In contrast, "as authority becomes more centralized, decision makers decide to create a variety of more specialized organizational forms, increasing organizational diversity by design (coercion)" (Scott 1991: 171-172).

[18]. DiMaggio and Powell defined isomorphism as "a constraining *process* that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (1991b: 66; emphasis added). At the same time, in my view, isomorphism also is likely to appear as a *consequence* (or outcome) of the institutionalization of an organizational field.

They (1991b: 65-66) also distinguished institutional from competitive isomorphism, arguing that different factors explain early and later adoptions of organizational structures or practices among organizations within an organizational field. "Early adopters of organizational innovations are commonly driven by a desire to improve performance. As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 65). Similarly, in their longitudinal study of the diffusion of civil service reform in the United States, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) concluded that while early adoptions of civil service by cities were associated with internal organizational requirements, later ones were related to

First, coercive isomorphism means that organizations in a given organizational field tend to be similar because of organizational conformity to the requirements of the state (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Meyer & Rowan 1977). DiMaggio and Powell (1991b: 67) noted the existence of a common legal environment, with governmental mandates and laws as typical examples of the institutional pressures that might entail coercive isomorphism.

Second, mimetic isomorphism[19] results from organizational endeavors to imitate the processes, structures, or practices of other organizations as ways of coping with an uncertain environment.

> Organizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful. The ubiquity of certain kinds of structural arrangements can more likely be credited to the universality of mimetic process than to any concrete evidence that the adopted models enhance efficiency (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 70).

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institutional pressures to employ legitimate structural forms. "As an increasing number of organizations adopt a program or policy, it becomes progressively institutionalized, or widely understood to be a necessary component of rationalized organizational structure. The legitimacy of the procedures themselves serves as the impetus for the later adopters" (Tolbert & Zucker 1983: 35). Oliver (1988: 543) also argues that the competitive isomorphism associated with early adoption may take place because of organizational competition, while the institutional isomorphism of later adoption may happen due to organizational interconnectedness.

It may be apparent that institutional pressures affect later adopters of organizational structures, processes, or practices. Later adopters may expect to enhance legitimacy by demonstrating that their organizations are "on the same page" as leading organizations in an organizational field. It is problematic to assume, however, that they would employ institutional elements *only* because of institutional pressures. For instance, organizations may want to have the same benefits that early adopters enjoyed. Moreover, sometimes it is not easy to distinguish institutional from competitive isomorphism, especially if we accept the current view that the institutional and the technical environments are intermingled and not easily separated. In the same vein, Zucker (1987: 47) argues that "power or authority is often translated into control over resource flow to the organization, making it difficult to distinguish institutional from resource dependence explanations."

[19]. See Haunschild (1993) and Haunschild and Miner (1997) for detailed discussions of mimetic isomorphism. In particular, Haunschild and Miner (1997) categorized interorganizational imitation into three modes: frequency imitation (copying very common practices), trait imitation (copying practices of other organizations with certain features), and outcome imitation (imitation based on a practice's apparent impact on others).

One of the basic assumptions underpinning mimetic isomorphism is that organizations are located in a set of exchange relations with other organizations in an organizational field. Such exchange interdependencies in interorganizational networks[20] are likely to make organizations similar to other organizations in the organizational field, because "[t]his similarity can make it easier for organizations to transact with other organizations" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 73). In this sense, it is safe to say that comparability is one of the key motivators that involve organizations in institutional imitation.

Finally, normative isomorphism[21] is associated with professionalization, a process of defining conditions, methods, standards, and boundaries of professional practices (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 70-74). In this process, the role of professional associations is quite significant in "develop[ing] collectively a set of practices and various cognitive frameworks… reflected in collective beliefs, conventions, and moral codes" (Norus 1997: 514). Once such a set of practices is established, it tends to become taken-for-granted and thus reproduced through such mechanisms as training, educating, and hiring (DiMaggio & Powell 1991b: 71-73). Professional associations also actively participate in this process of reproducing sets of practices.

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[20]. According to Goodstein (1994: 353), a high degree of interconnection among organizations makes the diffusion of institutional norms and demands widespread. He also argues that organizational proximity is a significant factor in generating mimetic isomorphism (377). That is, organizations are more likely to imitate the processes, structures, or practices of other organizations within the same geographic region.

In addition, Zucker (1987) contends that once a practice is institutionalized, it is not easy to change any one element without altering other interconnected elements because of network ties (interorganizational relationships). For example, "if a college wishes to abandon grading practices and to give written comments instead, then graduate and professional schools have to agree to make admission decisions based on the written comments, without grades, for the change to be viable" (Zucker 1987: 449).

[21]. For instance, Dacin (1997) found that nationalism in Finland affected Swedish-language newspapers in Swedish-language cities in ways that made them more likely to adopt Finnish.

Discussion of Early Studies along Four Dimensions

To facilitate later comparison with three alternative approaches for explaining organizational diversity, I analyze the early studies along four analytical dimensions.

Conceptualization of Environment

In contrast to the old institutionalism, which focused on more local environments, earlier new institutional studies emphasized the "institutional" environment (i.e., the "non-local" context) outside organizations. In particular, these studies distinguished the institutional from the technical environments. Such a distinction was based on the idea that institutional rules were incompatible with the requirements of efficiency (associated with the technical environment; Meyer & Rowan 1977). Although early studies assumed that inconsistency and conflict between the technical and the institutional environments might exist, they tended to characterize an institutional environment as being unitary and consistent (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Meyer & Rowan 1977).

One of the prominent characteristics of these studies is their conceptualization of the institutional environment as something imposing "taken-for-granted" norms and rules generated by the state, professional associations, and other organizations on organizations in an organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Zucker 1987). They thought that such taken-for-granted elements were likely to serve as templates for organizing by providing "the lenses through which actors view the world and the very categories of structure, action, and thought" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 13). Such elements were apt to "limit the direction and content of organizational actions within an organizational field" (DiMaggio & Powell 1983: 148) by offering prescriptions to organizations as to "what is and what can be acted upon and what cannot" (Hoffman 1999: 351).

Level of Analysis

As indicated previously, the main interest of the early studies was to explain why organizational homogeneity emerged in organizational fields. The organizational field,[22]

[22]. Recently, Hoffman (1999) proposed a more dynamic way of conceptualizing the organizational field. For him, an organizational field is not fixed; instead, it is constructed and changes in accordance with issues (or events). He illustrated the construction of an

then, was the primary level of analysis, where fields were defined as "the boundaries of industries, professionals, or national societies" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 13). Indeed, DiMaggio and Powell conceptualized an organizational field in functional terms by identifying it as a set of related actors and the patterned interactions between them. That is, they defined an organizational field as a set of "organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services and products" (1983: 143).[23]

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organizational field by analyzing the pattern of organizational interactions in the U.S. federal court system on the issue of environmental protection. Through a longitudinal analysis, he measured changes in the interested actors in the field on the issue of corporate environmentalism from 1960 to 1993. He discovered that "[f]ield membership was defined by who participated in the legal process and therefore had a voice in determining institutional norms regarding environmentalism" (364).

[23]. In addition to organizational field, such concepts as Hirsch's (1972; 1975; 1985) "industry system," Scott's (1994) "organizational community," and Scott and Meyer's (1991) "societal sector" have been used similarly in the organizational literature.

According to Hirsch (1972: 642), an industry system is "a single, concrete, and subtle network of identifiable and interacting components." He proposed an industry system "as a useful frame of reference in which to trace the filtering of new products and ideas as they flow from producer to consumer and in which to examine relations among organizations" (1972: 639). Similarly, Nelson and Winter (1982) defined an industry "as a set of firms sharing the same knowledge base and a common domain of competence" (cited in Aldrich 1999: 96).

Population ecologists employ the concept of organizational community for analyzing organizational evolution (e.g., Aldrich 1999; Ruef 2000). According to Aldrich (1999: 17), "[a]n organizational community is a set of populations linked by ties of commensalism and symbiosis." It is composed of "diverse populations that occupy different niches and use a mix of general and population-specific routines and competences" (Aldrich 1999: 223). Similarly, from the perspective of institutionalists, an organizational community is composed of "organizations that participate in the same meaning systems, are defined by similar symbolic processes, and are subject to common regulatory processes" (Scott 1994a: 71). Dacin, Goodstein, and Scott (2002: 51) indicated that the population ecologists' notion of the evolution of organizational communities is substantively compatible with the new institutionalists' structuration of organizational fields.

Finally, Scott and Meyer (1991:117) defined a societal sector as "(1) a collection of organizations operating in the same domain, as identified by the similarity of their services, products or functions; and (2) together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of the focal organizations." This definition "include[s] all organizations within a society supplying a given type of product or service together with

The early works focused on "superindividual units…that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 8). They tended to consider an organizational field to be "emerg[ing] as a critical unit bringing the organizational and societal levels in the study of social and community change" (DiMaggio 1986: 337). More importantly, the early researchers in new institutionalism regarded an organizational field as the locus of institutionalization. For them, the institutionalization of organizational structures, practices, and processes was likely to take place in organizational fields.

Relationship between Organizations and the Environment

One of the basic contentions of early studies in new institutionalism was that the institutional environment shaped organizational structures, practices, and processes.[24] Such arguments were based on "a common conviction that institutional arrangements and social processes matter" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 3) in determining a dominant logic of organizing in organizational fields. Indeed, they were interested in explaining "how social choices are shaped, mediated, and channeled by institutional arrangements" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 2).

For that reason, earlier new institutionalists believed that organizations depended on the institutional environment. They tried to illuminate the possible causal relationships between organizations and the institutional environment in an organizational field.[25] In

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their associated organizational sets" (1991: 108). Even if a societal sector were conceptualized in terms of the economists' concept of industry, however, "the concept of sector is broader than that of industry since it encompasses the different types of organizations to which these similar providers relate" (1991: 118).

[24]. For example, "environmental safety institutions make it important for organizations to create formal safety rules, safety departments, and safety programs" (Meyer & Rowan 1991: 50-51).

[25]. According to Scott, early works examined the relationships between organizations and the institutional environment along the following three dimensions:

(1) what types of institutional elements are singled out for attention;
(2) what influence or casual mechanisms are identified;
(3) and what aspects of organizational structure are affected (1987: 501).

doing so, these works subscribed to a macro approach that accentuated the role of institutions in providing rules and norms to which organizations should conform if they were to gain legitimacy and support from the outside to enhance the chances of their long-term survival.

Early studies explained organizational responses to the institutional environment in two ways: decoupling and conformity. They assumed that institutional requirements and efficiency concerns were not compatible with each other. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), to deal with this inconsistency, organizations were likely to undertake a "decoupling" process that separated the formal from the informal structure. As a way of buffering external pressures,[26] this decoupling contributed to organizational maintenance of "standardized, legitimating, formal structures while their activities var[ied] in response to practical considerations" (Meyer & Rowan 1991: 58).[27] As a consequence of the decoupling, organizations became "similar in formal structure – reflecting their common institutional origins" (Meyer & Rowan 1991: 58), since formal organizational structures were subject to being affected by rationalized institutional myths.[28]

Again, in these early studies, the institutional environment was treated as given, and organizations were expected to conform to the taken-for-granted institutional environment if they were to obtain the legitimacy that was vital for organizational survival (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Meyer & Rowan 1977).[29] Early new institutional

[26]. For that reason, Meyer and Rowan (1977; 1991) were interested in explaining organizational symbolic, ceremonial activities like rituals as responses to the institutional environment.

[27]. Because of this decoupling, organizations become seemingly "similar in formal structure – reflecting their common institutional origins – but show much diversity in actual practice" (Meyer & Rowan 1991: 58).

[28]. Brunsson (1989) extended Meyer and Rowan's (1977) idea of "loosely-coupled" organizations by introducing the concept of "organizational hypocrisy." In this view, organizations are likely to generate double standards or double talk for external audiences and internal use. Because of such double talk or standards, he suggests that organizations become hypocrites.

[29]. In fact, Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggested two reasons why organizations come to conform to the taken-for-granted institutional environment: to gain benefits and to avoid sanctions. Organizations can obtain emotional and material support from external

scholars insisted that organizations in an organizational field should design their formal structures to be consistent with the prescriptions provided by institutional norms and rules in order to protect themselves from being questioned as not legitimate (Meyer & Rowan 1977; 1991).

More importantly, these researchers argued that organizational efforts to conform to the institutional environment usually were "beyond the discretion of any individual participant or organization" (Meyer & Rowan 1977: 344).[30] They contended that, as a result of organizational conformity to the institutional environment, an organizational field was likely to experience "an inexorable push toward homogenization" (DiMaggio & Powell 1983: 148).

Conceptualization of Institution and Institutionalization

In early studies, institutions refer to "position, policies, programs, and procedures of modern organization…which function as highly rationalized myths" (Meyer & Rowan 1977: 343). An institution was a framework that carried socially constructed expectations and practices and that had a taken-for-granted quality (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Meyer & Rowan 1977). Institutions were assumed to be located outside organizations and could be treated as independent variables that affected the structures, practices, and processes of organizations in an organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; 1991b).

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constituents when they get legitimacy by conforming to the institutional environment. Scott agreed, claiming that "organizations…conform because they are rewarded for doing so through increased legitimacy, resources, and survival capabilities" (1987: 498).

Alternatively, organizations tend to conform to institutional arrangements if they are likely to receive external sanctions when they lack legitimacy. Meyer and Rowan stated: "Organizations that omit environmentally legitimated elements of structure or create unique structures lack acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities. Such organizations are more vulnerable to claims that they are negligent, irrational, or unnecessary. Claims of this kind, whether made by internal participants, external constituents, or the government, can cause organizations to incur real costs" (1991: 50).

[30]. Earlier new institutionalists basically rejected the rational choice model in explaining social processes, viewing organizations as shaped not by their choices but by their conformity to the institutional environment (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a).

Early works also tended to consider institutionalization[31] to be a "reproduction or copying of system-wide (sector-wide) social facts" (Zucker 1987: 444), which took place at the level of the organizational field. As already discussed, this was a process of structuring an organizational field; as institutional rules permeated organizations, certain organizational structures or practices became dominant.

This institutionalization would reach a certain point at which the degree of organizational diversity in an organizational field became quite low.[32] Early researchers in new institutionalism noted that point and attempted to provide a plausible account of why such isomorphism emerged. This led them to investigating the contents of institutionalization and to examining the features of the institutional environment that affected organizational structures, processes, and practices (Zucker 1991). DiMaggio and Powell (1991: 74-77) presented twelve predictors of organizational isomorphism at the organizational and field levels.[33]

Strengths and Limitations of Early New Institutional Studies

Efforts by early scholars of new institutionalism can be understood as challenges to the then-dominant functionalist explanations of organizations (Powell & DiMaggio

[31]. Unlike the argument of old institutionalism that considered organizations to be institutionalized as organic wholes, DiMaggio and Powell contend that "organizational forms, structural components, and rules, not specific organizations, are institutionalized" (1991a: 14).

[32]. DiMaggio and Powell argued that "organizations may try to change constantly; but after a certain point in the structuration of the field, the aggregate effort of individual change is to lessen the extent of diversity within the field" (1991b: 65).

[33]. At the organizational level, they suggested that organizations would be more likely to become isomorphic with increases in dependence on other organizations, centralization of organizational resources, uncertainty about the relationship between means and ends, ambiguity of organizational goals, reliance on academic credentials in managerial and staff personnel selection, and participation of organizational managers in trade and professional associations. They also enumerated such field-level predictors as the dependence of an organizational field on a single source of support for vital resources, organizational transactions with agencies of the state, the number of visible alternative organizational models, the uncertainty of technologies or the ambiguity of goals, professionalization, and the structuration of a field.

1991a). Indeed, these scholars rejected rational actor models based on methodological individualism and turned toward cognitive and cultural accounts of institutions (Christensen, et al. 1997; Fligstein 1997; Powell & DiMaggio 1991a). They were eager to develop a new approach to counter the materialism they saw in existing accounts of organizations. The new institutionalism tended to "redress this imbalance by stressing the importance of idealist concerns – symbolic systems, cognitive scripts, and normative codes" (Scott 1994: 56).

Early studies contributed to a new way of understanding the role of meaning in the production and reproduction of social practices by adopting a social constructionist perspective that stressed the socio-cultural contexts of institutions (Powell & DiMaggio 1991a). They succeeded in bringing the social sphere into organizational inquiry by highlighting the importance of social, rather than only economic, rationalities of organizational actions (Clark & Mueller 1996; Karnøe 1997; Whittington 1990; Powell & DiMaggio 1991b).

Probably the most significant contribution of early new institutionalists to the study of organizations can be found in their efforts to reconceptualize the environment and its relationships to organizations (Beckert 1999; Karnøe 1997; Kraatz & Zajac 1996; Scott 1991). They attempted to demonstrate how organizations were connected to and affected by the institutional rather than the technical environment in obtaining the legitimacy that was expected to enable organizations to gain various kinds of external support.

These early studies provided a fascinating way to explain similarities among organizations in an organizational field. At the same time, however, they could not offer plausible accounts of organizational (or institutional) variety and change.[34]

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[34]. For example, in their longitudinal analysis of 631 private liberal arts colleges from 1971 to 1986, Kraatz and Zajac reported findings that were contrary to the tenets of earlier studies in new institutionalism:

(1) Many liberal arts colleges changed in ways contrary to institutional demands by professionalizing or vocationalizing their curricula;
(2) global and local technical environmental conditions, such as changes in customers' preferences and local economic and demographic differences, were strong predictors of the changes observed;
(3) schools became less, rather than more, homogeneous over time;

First, the studies assumed that the institutional environment was the primary cause of organizational isomorphism and that the environment was unitary, coherent, and consistent in an organizational field. This implies that there is only one way to respond to the institutional environment, at least within an organizational field (Goodrick & Salancik 1996). More recent new institutional work, in contrast, assumes that the institutional environment is not unitary, coherent, and consistent. Instead, it views the institutional environment as being composed of multiple, competing, conflicting, and contradictory institutional logics, rules, norms, and beliefs that may simultaneously exist in an organizational field (Borum & Westenholz 1995; Brunsson 1989; Carney & Gedajlovic 2002; D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price 1991; Friedland & Alford 1991; Hoffman 1999; Scott 1991; Seo & Creed 2002). There may be a variety of ideas about how organizations act in an organizational field.[35] Indeed, it is more likely that institutional environments are characterized by heterogeneous institutions that display "diverse rationales of shared practices" (Zilber 2002: 245) and convey different demands and expectations because of

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(4) schools did not mimic their most prestigious counterparts;
(5) and the illegitimate changes had no negative (and often had positive) performance consequences for enrolment and survival (1996: 812).

Similarly, Baron and his colleagues (Baron, et al. 2001; cited in Baron 2002) in the Stanford project on Emerging Companies (SPEC) claimed that there was hardly any isomorphism even within a quite narrow set of industries. Instead, they found marked variations in institution building including processes, designs and structures among SPEC firms in the same locale, industries, and time period.

[35]. Whitley intriguingly argues that more attention needs to be paid to diversity in technical environments: "[t]here is no single optimal way of developing new products and processes that all 'rational' firms are compelled to follow in all circumstances. Neither are there technological imperatives that direct decision making along particular lines, irrespective of societal arrangements. Although it is quite widely accepted that technologies…are socially constructed and variable, there is a tendency in some of the literature on innovation systems and technological change to assume that because innovations and technological regimes have specific properties, there must be one best way of organizing their development, rather than a variety of alternative ones that become established in different circumstances. Despite recent attacks on the 'dominant design' view of technological development, many writers on technological change and organizations assume that there is a single evolutionary logic to innovation patterns, without specifying the conditions under which this is supposed to operate, or could be altered" (2002: 880).

"institutional dissensus" (Zucker 1987: 45) in organizational fields. As a consequence, several competing factors may simultaneously affect organizational behavior (Borum & Westenholz 1995; Scott 1994a; Wolf 2003).

For example, according to Stryker (1994), competing legal and scientific rule sets have shaped organizations. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) also found that two different institutional logics – editorial and market – gave rise to variations in the positional, relational, and economic determinants of executive succession in the higher education publishing industry. In a similar context, Scott (1991: 172) stated:

> There is not one but many forms of rationality, and there may be competing conceptions as to how a particular environment is to be appropriately structured. For example, state administrators are more likely to create bureaucratic arrangements that centralize discretion at the top of the structure and allow relatively little autonomy to officials. By contrast, professional actors, both individual and corporate, will prefer weaker and more decentralized administrative structures that locate maximum discretion in the hands of practitioners. Both forms embody rational assumptions and modes of consciousness, but give rise to quite different structural arrangements.

Second, early works were based on a deterministic view of the impact of the institutional environment on organizations (Seo & Creed 2002; Sahlin-Andersson 1996; Scott 1994a). They treated the institutional environment as a given: all that organizations could do was to unconsciously follow the scripts of the prevailing environment.

Such a perspective resulted in marginalizing the roles of actors (both individuals and organizations) and their interests in shaping as well as in responding to the institutional environment (e.g., Colomy 1998; DiMaggio 1988; Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Kout, Walker, & Anand 2002; Powell 1991; Tolbert & Zucker 1999). Such a passive description of actors left little room for explaining how organizations can actively affect the institutional environment.

Because this deterministic perspective caricatured organizations as helpless followers that had no option but to conform to institutional rules and norms, it suffered from fatal limitations when organizational diversity appeared in structures, practices, processes, strategies, and performances in individual organizations (e.g., Carney & Gedajlovic 2002; Covaleski & Dirsmith 1988; Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott 2002; Fligstein 1997; Kondra & Hinings 1998). More recent work assumes that actors are not in an "iron

cage" (DiMaggio & Powell 1983).[36] In particular, the "internal approach" accentuates the roles of actors in relations with the institutional environment. It contends that individuals and organizations are actively involved in creating, interpreting, maintaining, and altering institutional rules and norms. Recent research also has noted that organizations are not likely to react to the institutional environment in a unitary way, since they are apt to pursue different interests when responding (e.g., Hasselbladh & Kallinikos 2000; Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Kondra & Hinings 1998; Scott 1994a). Oliver, for example, suggests that organizations in an organizational field are apt to have multiple ways of responding to institutional pressures, including "acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, and manipulation" (1991: 151), which may cause organizational diversity.

Third, because the main theoretical concern of early studies was to explain the impact of the institutional environment on organizations, they largely failed to specify the local rather than the institutional ("nonlocal") environment of organizations. In contrast, as the next section explores more fully, Selznick's line of old institutionalism was attentive to the importance of the more localized environment of organizations (1966; 1984). According to this intellectual tradition, since organizations are likely to confront different local environments depending on where they are located, they are likely to institutionalize organizational practices in differing manners through interactions with these environments, which lead to differences in their organizational characters and competences.

Fourth, the very misconception of the institutional environment as an iron cage helped generate a misleading view of the institutional environment as having "only stability and inertia as its central defining characteristics" (Hoffman 1999: 351). Indeed, this overemphasis on the taken-for-granted and persistent nature of institutions limited the ability to explain institutional change (Colomy 1998; Oliver 1992).

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[36]. Scott emphasized this aspect: "Although the focus of institutional theory is on symbols and meanings and rules,…it is essential that we do not lose sight of the human agents that are creating an applying these symbols, interpreting these meanings, and formulating, conforming to, disobeying, and modifying these rules" (1994a: 60).

More recent studies have addressed the issue of institutional change.[37] DiMaggio (1988), for instance, highlighted the role of institutional entrepreneurs in introducing innovations that might result in bringing about institutional changes. Oliver (1992) stressed the concept of "deinstitutionalization"[38] in explaining institutional changes. Seo and Creed (2002) introduced a framework of a dialectical process between institutional embeddedness and institutional change.

Finally, the early studies in new institutionalism had limited power to explain organizational behavior, since they were mostly applied to non-economic organizations. Although these works offered deep insights into organizations such as schools, hospitals, and welfare organizations, they were limited in accounting for economic organizations dominated by technical imperatives, where efficiency rather than legitimacy was the most significant condition for survival in competitive environments.[39]

In short, the strengths and weaknesses of early work in new institutionalism can be viewed as opposite sides of a coin. Its emphasis on such themes as organizational conformity to the institutional environment and the resulting organizational isomorphism contributed to illuminating many of the social aspects of organizations. Yet, because of

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[37]. A special issue of the *Academy of Management Journal* (2002 Vol. 45, No. 1) was devoted to research on institutional theory and change.

[38] . Oliver (1992: 564) defined deinstitutionalization as "the delegitmation of an established organizational practice or procedure as a result of organizational challenges to or the failure of organizations to reproduce previously legitimated or taken-for-granted organizational actions."

[39]. Noting these limitations, DiMaggio (1988: 5-12) enumerated the conditions for which the earlier work was best and worst suited. He maintained that the conceptual apparatus the early work developed was useful where the institutional environment was highly institutionalized and its components were taken-for-granted. On the other hand, the work had major limitations in accounting for organizational life where the environment was competitive and technically oriented and where organizational interest-maximizing activities were central. Similarly, after distinguishing among organizations by the strengths of their technical and institutional environments, Scott and Meyer (1991: 122-126) contended that the early work was appropriate for explaining organizations such as mental health clinics, schools, legal agencies, and churches where the institutional environment was stronger and the technical environment weaker. It was not well suited for application to organizations like general manufacturing companies where the competitive market mechanism was dominant.

an overemphasis on these themes, early new institutionalists faced serious criticism. They had overlooked the possibility that institutional environments could be diverse and inconsistent; they were inattentive to the active roles of organizations in interpreting and reinterpreting institutional rules and norms; and they neglected the local environments that organizations also often confronted.

More recent work in new institutionalism has moved beyond these first and second problems. The external approach notes the possibility of diverse, inconsistent, and often competing institutional environments; and the internal approach stresses the active role of organizations in responding to the institutional environment. Similarly, related to addressing the third issue, the Selznick line of old institutionalism tapped the influence of the localized environment on organizations. I turn next to these works, paying special attention to their ways of addressing organizational diversity.

Search for an Alternative Model of Organizational Diversity

As the basis for constructing a conceptual framework that explains organizational heterogeneity rather than homogeneity, I review, first, the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism. As already noted, this approach was attentive to the importance of the localized contexts of organizations. In particular, it viewed the organizational response to the environment as a process of institutionalizing distinctive organizational characters. Second, I explore more recent work in the new institutionalism that recognizes multiple institutional logics provided by institutional intermediaries (which I call an "external approach") and that accentuates the significance of internal organizational dynamics in interpreting and making sense of the institutional environment (an "internal approach").

"Old Institutionalism": The Selznick Tradition

My primary interest in Selznick's version of old institutional analysis[40] is its way of examining how organizations develop different characters in relationships with the

[40]. Here, I explore old institutionalism mainly as represented by Selznick's works (1966; 1984; 1992; 1996), which can be distinguished from Parsonian functionalism (Lounsbury 1997: 466).

"localized environment," which in turn might lead to organizational diversity.[41] I begin with Selznick's argument about organizational character formation by focusing on his theorization of the distinctiveness of organizational characters.

Selznick's Organizational Character Formation

The main analytical focus of old institutional theory was "trac[ing] the emergence of distinctive forms, processes, strategies, outlooks, and competencies as they emerge[d] from patterns of organizational interaction and adaptation" within organizations (Selznick 1996: 271). Selznick's (1966; 1984) basic argument about institutionalization was that organizations often face situations in which that they must make "critical" decisions in response to external forces. Under such conditions, they are likely to take on specific roles, which means choosing particular values. Then, they tend to begin institutionalizing these roles – the process of institutionalizing organizational character. As a consequence, organizations are likely to have *distinctive* characters that may ultimately generate organizational diversity. Organizations are likely to wind up with different organizational characters and competences, because they have been infused with different values and have pursued different paths.

Discussion of Selznick's Old Institutionalism along Four Dimensions

I examine Selznick's theorization of organizational character formation by using the four analytical dimensions introduced earlier. In doing so, I pay special attention to his argument about the distinctiveness of organizational characters and competences that are constructed in relationships with localized environments.

Conceptualization of Environment

Even though the old institutionalism also acknowledged the importance of the broader environment in affecting organizations, it focused more on the *localized* environment of organizations. It recognized the possible influence of the local context,

[41]. Selznick stated that: "we cannot be satisfied with a new idiom, or a new way of thinking, if it fails to take account of contexts and *variations*" (1966: 277; emphasis added).

the distinctive demands and expectations that organizations often faced based on where they were located (Selznick 1966: 41-44). For Selznick, the distinctive characters of organizations are likely to be formed in relationships with the localized environment.

Level of Analysis

Since old institutionalists were primarily interested in organizational "fit" with local contexts, the individual organization was the key level of analysis. They "regarded [individual] organizations as both the units that were institutionalized and the key loci of the process" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991: 13). Selznick (1966: 12), for instance, conducted "a single over-all analysis" of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to delineate how the Authority responded to external forces and what consequences arose. He examined:

1) the avowed contribution of TVA to democratic planning, through a grass-roots method of executing its responsibilities;
2) the self-defensive behavior of the organization as it faced the need to adjust itself to the institutions of its area of operation;
3) and the consequences for policy and action which must follow upon any attempt to adjust an organization to local centers of interest and power.

Selznick (1966) argued that such analysis might contribute to illuminating how individual organizations institutionalize their characters in response to external imperatives. It also helps in studying organizational diversity, as it explores "how widely organizations differ and generates broad bases to classify them" (Perrow 1986: 166).

Relationship between Organizations and the Environment

The old institutionalism considered organizations to be deeply embedded in local communities and sought to specify the relations between organizations and important local forces. Thus, for example, Selznick argued: "[T]he Authority's grass-roots policy as doctrine and as action must be understood as related to the need of the organization to come to terms with certain *local* and national interests" (1984: 12; emphasis added). This view of the relationship between organizations and the environment can be expressed in terms of the *localization* of organizations, which reflects the expectations and demands of local constituencies with which organizations must cope.

In his study of the TVA, Selznick demonstrated that the Agency was shaped by local constituencies. At the outset, it was not created to reflect "the expressed desires of the local area" (1966: 12). Yet, it ended up adjusting its agricultural program and certain broad social policies by employing a "grass-roots" strategy of co-optation. It should be noted that this was an effort by the TVA to connect to certain local forces in order to bring their voices to the Authority under the doctrine "close to the people" (Selznick 1966: 22-41). On this dimension, I contend that the key feature of old institutionalism is its emphasis on organizational *adaptation* to the external environment, which put greater stress on internal dynamics. [42]

Selznick emphasized informal co-optation[43] that was "a response to the pressure of specific centers of power within the community" (1966: 14). He claimed that this co-optation was carried out in a way that "[went] beyond a tailored combination of uniform elements" (1984: 138). As a result, the Agency changed to reflect the co-opted external elements, which might have been completely unexpected. Selznick argued that not only was this co-optation "an adaptive response, but also *that this change [wa]s consequential for the character and role of the organization or governing body*" (1966: 16; emphasis in original). That is, organizational change was inevitable as a result of the organization's evolving adaptive relationship with its local environment, which then transformed the character of the organization (Selznick 1984).

More importantly, for capturing the "localized environment," I contend that the significance of TVA can be found in its cooperative efforts of partnership with local constituencies, which included all kinds of organizations such as local governmental

[42]. The analytical focus of old institutional theory is on informal internal dynamics in responding to the expectations and needs of external constituencies. One of its basic assumptions is that organizational behavior cannot be fully explained by the formal structure of organizations. Therefore, explanations of organizational behavior should at least be supplemented by informal structures (Selznick 1984). Selznick highlighted such aspects of informal structure as "influence patterns, coalitions and cliques, particularistic elements in recruitment or promotion" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991a: 12), arguing that "institutions are established, not by decree alone, but as a result of being bound into the fabric of social life" (Selznick 1992: 232).

[43]. According to Selznick, a prototypical example of informal cooptation is "the representation of interests through administrative constituencies" (1966: 13).

agencies, nonprofits organizations, and private firms. One of the key features of this cooperation was that TVA affected the external environment by marshalling local organizations including governmental agencies when implementing programs.

Conceptualization of Institution and Institutionalization

Selznick observed: "An institution is better understood as a *product* of social adaptation" (1966: 233; emphasis added). In particular, the Authority's grass-roots policy can be seen as an adaptive strategy (or institution) created through relationships with the local forces. Ultimately, this policy resulted in institutionalizing distinctive characters and competences of the Agency.

In addition, for Selznick (1966; 1984; 1992; 1996), an institution is an arena in which vested interests and conflicts are compromised and negotiated.[44] He accentuated the informal aspects of internal dynamics that generated and maintained the meaning of social interactions within organizations.

The Selznick version of institutions can be best understood in terms of his organic view of organizations, which stressed the normative aspects of organizational life. He (1984) made a clear distinction between organizations and institutions. Organizations are technically engineered instruments designed in means-ends chains; they are inflexible and economically rational tools that can be easily expended. In contrast, institutions are basically "a living organization in a concrete social environment" (Selznick 1984: 20), which are more likely to be responsive, flexible, and therefore adaptive. Focusing on the organization as a whole, he stressed the transformation of organizations into institutions. Selznick asserted: "Organizations become institutions as they are *infused with values*"

[44]. Selznick maintains that the social construction of an informal structure in an organization is likely to develop "as the individual brings into play his own personality, his special problems and interests" (1984: 8). Such informal structures come to be more complex when the expectations and demands of external forces are brought into an organization. In this case, the organization becomes "an arena within which multiple interests arise and contend" (Selznick 1992: 236). Old institutionalism focused on illuminating the patterns and processes of how different interests were contested and compromised between groups within organizations and between organizations and external forces.

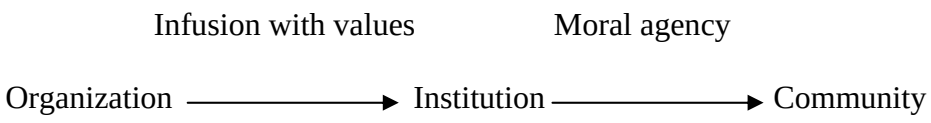
(1984: 40; emphasis in original). Through this process, organizations are likely to take on distinctive characters and competences.

Such a distinction between institutions and organizations can be seen as reflecting Selznick's normative orientation, which stressed values in institutionalization. He argues that values should be placed at the center of institutional theory and that institutional analysis should be "attentive…to the values at stake in social experience, including organizational, economic, and political life" (Selznick 1996: 270).

Later, Selznick expanded his normative perspective on institutions to include the community. He contends that institutions become a community when they are moving toward emphasizing morality "judged by the contributions they make to personal and social well-being" (Selznick 1992: 243)[45]; in the process of such transformation, an institution should be evaluated by the moral worth of its institutionalized character and the ends it serves (Selznick 1992: 234). This implies that institutional theory must stress organizational morality and responsibility to society over profit-maximizing efficiency.[46]

In short, an organization becomes an institution when it is infused with values; this in turn is likely to produce an organization with a distinctive identity. The institution, then, is transformed into a community when creating and sustaining a culture that accommodates a broad range of interests (Selznick 1992: 237-238). Figure 2-1 depicts how an organization is transformed into an institution and a community.

Figure 2-1Organization, Institution, and Community



[45]. According to Selznick, the moral dimension of the grass-roots approach was more than the technical means for achieving administrative objectives; it was the Agency's endeavor to create "a sense of responsibility on the part of the local organs" (Selznick 1966: 38).

[46]. While distinguishing between institutions and organizations, Selznick criticized unreflective, economic-centered organizations: "The cult of efficiency in administrative theory and practice is a modern way of overstressing means and neglecting ends" (1984: 135).

For Selznick, institutionalization is a "process of organic growth, wherein the organization adapts to the strivings of internal groups and the values of the external society" (Perrow 1986: 167). Selznick's conception of co-optation clearly involves organizational adaptation:

> *coöptation is the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence* (Selznick 1966: 13; emphasis in original).

Such co-optation implies that institutionalization includes organizational character formation, a process of constructing, maintaining, and changing organizational identity (Selznick 1984: 38-56). This arises as an organization takes on a distinctive identity that may lead it to have distinctive competences, "distinctive ways of making decisions or by peculiar commitments to aims, methods, or clienteles" (Selznick 1984: 138). As a result, an organization comes to be "peculiarly competent (or incompetent) to do a particular kind of work" (Selznick 1984: 139).

In short, not only do institutions and institutionalization tap an ongoing *process* of defining and redefining organizational character, but they also refer to a *property* or *state* of an organization. In particular, differing paths of institutionalization may help explain organizational variation, even in an organizational field. Other plausible accounts of organizational diversity emerge in more recent works in new institutionalism, to which I turn next.

Recent Works in Sociological New Institutionalism

Despite the success of earlier studies in injecting into organizational study such critical ideas as organizational field, institutional environment, organizational conformity, legitimacy, and institutional (or organizational) isomorphism, they largely failed to recognize or address the diversity that often appeared among individual organizations. More recent works in new institutionalism have offered alternative models to account for organizational variation. They have been attentive to analyzing individual differences among organizations in responding to the institutional environment (e.g., Jepperson & Meyer 1991; Thornton 2002; Venkatraman 1995). These analyses have sought to expand

the theoretical domain of institutional theory by reflecting different interests and by employing differing approaches[47] to account for variations in organizational structure and behavior that appear at various levels of analysis. Such efforts can be divided into two intellectual branches: external and internal approaches.

The *external* approach is not very different from the earlier studies: both typically employ a macro perspective in which organizations are seen as likely to be constrained and shaped by the institutional environment. The external approach, however, is based on the recognition that the institutional environment often is not consistent (Dacin 1997). It moves "from a generalized to a differentiated model of institutional contexts: from a conception of the institutional environment to one of multiple, alternative institutional environments" (Scott 1991: 167). The very observation that multiple institutional models or logics simultaneously exist and compete for attention serves as a critical breaking point from earlier new institutionalist work. The external approach contends that the attributes of an institutional environment characterized by multiplicity, inconsistency, competition, and even contradiction are likely to cause different organizational responses (Friedland & Alford 1991; Kostova & Roth 2002; Thornton 2002; Whittington 1992).

Meanwhile, the *internal* approach turns inside organizations to answer "why some structures or practices are adopted by some organizations but not by others in similar situations" (Scott 2001:162). This approach searches for factors within organizational boundaries that affect variations in responding to the institutional environment. Its basic argument is that organizations do not blindly conform to the institutional environment

[47]. According to Lounsbury (2001: 50), "[a] focus on organizational heterogeneity can help to bridge the gap between institutional analysis and more traditional perspectives on organizational adaptation that portray organizational variation as antithetical to institutional analysis." In this regard, some institutional theorists have attempted to expand the domain of institutional theory by comparing or combining it with such perspectives as economic (e.g., Dacin 1997), population ecology (e.g., Baum & Oliver 1992; Baum & Powell 1995; D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price 1991; Dacin 1997; Oliver 1988; Russo 2001; Zucker 1989.), rational choice (e.g., Beckert 1999; DiMaggio 1988; Fligstein 1997; Gooderham, Nordhaug, & Ringdal 1999; Goodstein 1994; Holm 1995; Hung & Wittington 1997; Oliver 1988; 1991; Powell 1991; Scott 1994a; Suchman 1995), resource dependence (e.g., McKay 2001; Tolbert 1985), neofunctional (e.g., Colomy 1998), contingency (e.g., Gupta, Dirsmith, & Fogarty 1994), and resource-based (e.g., Hung & Wittington 1997; Oliver 1997b) theories.

(Goodrick & Salancik 1996; Goodstein 1994; Oliver 1991). Instead, they act strategically in responding by interpreting and making sense of institutional rules and norms and by assessing their strengths and contents in relation to organizational interests and ideology (Covaleski & Dirsmith 1988; Christensen & Westenholz 1997; Goodstein 1994; Powell 1991; Scott 1991; Zilber 2002).

Again, the internal approach regards variation in organizational responses to the institutional environment as a function of factors such as organizational goals, values, beliefs, power, and interests (Boeker 1989; Covaleski & Dirsmith 1988; DiMaggio 1988; Oliver 1991; Powell 1988; 1991). To examine such dynamics between organizations and the institutional environment, some internalists explicitly revisit the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism to revitalize his emphasis on organizational actions and interests in institutional analysis (e.g., Greenwood & Hinings 1996; Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997: Holm 1995; Kraatz & Zajac 1996).[48] Meanwhile, others employ a rational choice perspective (Child 1972) that stresses organizational strategic choices among possible options (e.g., Beckert 1999; Fligstein 1997; Gooderham, Nordhaug, & Ringdal 1999; Suchman 1995). In particular, the latter subscribes to a view of strategic choice in which organizations have different motives and thus seek different courses of action; variation in behavior among organizations reflects choices given differing incentives (Nelson 1991: 61-65).

I explore the theoretical cores of these two approaches along the by now familiar four dimensions, focusing on how they address organizational diversity.

Discussion of Recent Works in New Institutionalism along Four Dimensions

Conceptualization of Environment

Both the external and internal approaches commonly agree that the institutional

[48]. Recently, organizational researchers have revisited the tenets of old institutionalism that were attentive to the diversity and richness of organizational actions in order to account for variations in interest and power in organizations (e.g., DiMaggio 1988; Oliver 1991). This endeavor has promoted the convergence of old and new institutionalisms. Similarly, Selznick (1996) argues that there is no difference between old and new institutionalisms.

environment is likely to provide contexts that constrain organizational behavior. The two, however, display differences in conceptualizing the institutional environment.

The internal approach sees organizations as facing the "same" environment (Scott 1995: 161-162). It is more likely to attend to differences among organizations in their responses to a similar institutional environment.[49] It pays little attention to specifying the characteristics and conditions of the institutional environment, because it assumes that different responses to that environment are mostly affected by factors in organizations. "[O]rganizational practices take place within some institutional context, and idiosyncratic interests operate within the discretion permitted by that same institutional context" (Goodrick & Salancik 1996: 3). According to Scott (1991: 105),

> In contrast to the conventional emphasis of macroinstitutionalism on organizational homogeneity, direct investigation of transmission and maintenance processes yields insights into the variability of organizations' strategic response to similar institutional environments…In other words, variation in strategic response to the *same* environment can engender differentiation rather than isomorphism. To specify the conditions under which either of these occur requires a focus on internal institutional process (emphasis added).

In contrast, the external approach is mainly interested in identifying the attributes of the institutional environment that may generate differences in structures and processes among organizations. It sees the institutional environment as inconsistent and conflicting, since it is composed of a set of multiple institutions provided by a variety of institutional intermediaries [50] that impose different demands and expectations on organizations (D'Aunno, Sutton & Price 1991). It implies that multiple institutional models prescribing organizational behavior exist simultaneously within an organizational field, serving as

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[49]. Oliver (1988: 546) notes that "the same environmental constraints are presumed to be solvable by organisms in multiple ways; such latitude is proposed to account for continuing diversity among organisms in the face of common and stable environmental constraints."

[50]. For instance, "[u]niversities relate not only to educational accreditation agencies and professional disciplinary associations but also to federal agencies overseeing research grants and contracts and student loans, to the National College Athletic Association for sports activities, and to local planning and regulatory bodies for building and roads, among many other oversight bodies" (Scott 2001: 157).

multiple sources of legitimacy (Borum & Westenholz 1995; Ruef & Scott 1998; Scott 1994a).

Level of Analysis

Institutional approaches have employed varying levels of analysis, depending on the level(s) at which each assumes that institutions operate.[51] Studies adopting the external approach are apt to focus on more macro-levels, which emphasize the role of the institutional environment in influencing organizations. For example, some researchers probe cross-national institutional differences at the level of the world system (e.g., Gooderham, Nordhaug, & Ringdal 1999; Whitley 2000). Others conceive of institutional systems as operating at the level of the societal sector (e.g., Friedland & Alford 1991; Hung & Whittington 1997; McKay 2001; Scott & Meyer 1991). Still, others believe that the level of the organizational field is most appropriate for analyzing how a broad array of competing institutions affects organizations, for they see organizations as being deeply embedded in the institutional environment in an organizational field (e.g., Dacin 1997; D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price 1991; Hoffman 1999; Lounsbury 2001; Oliver 1997a; Scott 1991; Thornton & Ocasio 1999).

On the other hand, analyses adopting the internal approach emphasize the roles of actors (organizations or individuals) in shaping the institutional environment as well as in interpreting and reinterpreting institutional rules and norms. Much work attends to the strategic actions of individuals or organizations in decision situations. Many researchers employ the individual organization as the key unit and level of analysis and explore how organizations act strategically in response to the institutional environment (e.g., Aldrich & Fiol 1994; Covaleski & Dirsmith 1988). Other scholars focus on individuals. Their studies investigate, for example, the roles of institutional entrepreneurs in designing or changing institutions in ways that reflect their interests (e.g., Beckert 1999; DiMaggio 1988; Fligstein 1997; Karnøe 1995) and the cognition of managers as they respond to the institutional environment (e.g., Ginsberg & Venkatraman 1995; Karnøe 1997).

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[51]. Scott (1995: 55-60) discusses the varying levels of analysis used by institutional research, ranging from the organizational subsystem to the world system levels.

Relationship between Organizations and the Environment

Studies in the external approach category are likely to have a deterministic tone, since their primary interest is in examining the influences of the institutional environment on organizations. According to this approach, the institutional environment provides organizations with a set of frameworks that include multiple models of organizational arrangements (e.g., Friedland & Alford 1991; Hoffman 1999; Jepperson 1991; Lounsbury 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 1999). Researchers taking this approach typically conceive of institutions as being located outside of organizations (Zucker 1987: 444-446). They tend to treat institutional factors as independent variables and to examine their effects on organizations (Scott 1994a; Zucker 1987).

In contrast, researchers following the internal approach see institutions as residing within organizations (Zucker 1987: 446-447); they pay more attention to the creation and development of institutions inside organizations (Tolbert 1988; Tolbert & Zucker 1983; Zucker 1991).[52] The major task becomes examining factors in organizations that give rise to institutionalization. Work, then, focuses on probing intraorganizational determinants of different institutional designs and consequences of varying degrees of institutionalization within organizations (Scott 1994b).

The internal approach's more voluntaristic stance helps highlight organizations' strategic responses to the institutional environment. The emphasis on the role of actors and the resurgence of interest in institutional analysis have opened up the possibility that actors do not simply follow institutional scripts; instead, they can enjoy a certain amount of discretion and act strategically in responding to such scripts (DiMaggio 1988; Oliver 1991). [53]

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[52]. In line with this idea, Zucker (1987: 444) has stated that "the central process [of institutionalization] is generation (meaning creation of new cultural elements) at the organization level."

[53]. One may find a typical example of organizations wielding their discretion when they interpret institutional rules and requirements in statutes and regulations. See Edelman (1992) and Edelman and Suchman (1997).

Borrowing the Hrebiak and Joyce concept of "equifinality," Oliver (1988) more actively and comprehensively suggests the presence of organizational discretion in response to the environment. She argues that "organizations have the capability to exercise considerable discretion over the design and alteration of their own [institutional]

To more fully understand the internal approach, it should be underscored that it does not devalue the impact of the institutional environment on organizations. Instead, it puts more weight on interpreting the contexts of macro-level institutional environments through the details of micro-level actions, pointing to the significance of various microtranslations of the macroinstitutional environment (Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Jepperson 1991). For instance, Karnøe maintains that "the very construction process [of institutions] is characterized by actors having different beliefs about what is feasible and appropriate in the given situation; it is a process of negotiated order and interpretive flexibility of 'solution' or actions, that is, the enactment of some institutional rules" (1997: 426). Hasselbladh and Kallinikos (2000: 699) also stress this point: "…the most crucial is the way in which the pool of social ideas, institutional orientations and schemes (i.e., rationalized environment) is translated into the specific administrative patterns encountered in particular organizations or populations of organizations."

In short, the internal approach commonly suggests that differing interpretations of the institutional environment are likely to generate variations among organizations (e.g., Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Goodrick & Salancik 1996; Jepperson 1991 Oliver 1988; Scott 2001; Zilber 2002). Furthermore, it contends that actors actively engage in shaping institutional rules and norms in varying ways (Christensen & Westenholz 1997; Dacin, Ventresca, & Beal 1999; Dobbin & Sutton 1998; Edelman 1992; Lawrence 1999).

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structures in response to environmental contingencies. Such discretion allows organizational leaders to fashion unique [institutional] structures relative to others that occupy the same competitive niche because solutions to problems in the environment are presumed to be solvable by organizations in more than one way" (1988: 546).

Oliver (1991) elaborated an array of strategic responses to institutional pressures to demonstrate how organizational behavior may vary from passive conformity to active resistance in response to the institutional environment, depending on the characteristics of institutional constituencies, the congruence of institutional pressures, and the nature and context of such pressures. More specifically, she contends that "organizational responses [to the institutional environment] will vary from conforming to resistant, from passive to active, from preconscious to controlling, from impotent to influential, and from habitual to opportunistic, depending on the institutional pressures toward conformity that are exerted on organizations" (Oliver 1991: 151).

Conceptualization of Institution and Institutionalization[54]

The external approach, employing a more macro perspective, typically views an institution as a particular state or property of social patterns (Jepperson 1991: 149). For example, Friedland and Alford (1991) regard institutions both as supra-organizational patterns of activity through which humans conduct their material lives in time and space and as symbolic systems through which individuals categorize that activity and infuse it with meaning. Similarly, Jepperson contends that an "institution represents a social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property" (1991: 145). He also argues that "institutionalization is better reserved as an abstract property that can characterize many forms of social coordination" (1991: 150).[55] Yet, Jepperson (1991: 149) observes that linking the idea of an institution as a property to "the properties of legitimacy, or formal organization, or contextuality" is likely to be misleading:

> (1) it neglects the fact that illegitimate elements can also be institutionalized although legitimacy may be an outcome of institutionalization;
> (2) it is arbitrary to identity institutionalization with formal organization albeit formal organization can carry or generate institutions or some organizations have become institutions;
> (3) and the fact that all institutional effects have contextual qualities does not automatically guarantee that all contextual effects are institutional ones.

Meanwhile, the internal approach conceives of institution and institutionalization as processes rather than as states or properties (DiMaggio 1988; Tolbert & Zucker 1983; Zucker 1983; 1987; 1991). According to Zucker, the term institutionalization emphasizes the "cognitive process involved in the creation and transmission of institutions" (1991:

[54]. The debate between the external and internal approaches over the conceptualization of institution and institutionalization follows that over defining the relationship between organizations and the environment.

[55]. In addition, he stresses that "institutionalization is a relative property" (1991: 146). Whether a practice is an institution depends on the context; higher levels of organization are institutions for lower levels of organization; and whether an object is an institution depends on the nature of the relationship and its centrality to the organization.

104).[56] Similarly, DiMaggio defines institutionalization as "an unfinished process (as opposed to an achieved state)" (1988: 12). He understands institutionalization as a political process,[57] triggered by certain contradiction inherent in institutions themselves; in this process, various interests are contested, mediated and negotiated.

> Central to this line of argument is an apparent paradox rooted in the two senses in which the term *institutionalization* is used; institutionalization as an *outcome* places organizational structures and practices beyond the reach of interest and politics. By contrast, institutionalization as a *process* is profoundly political and reflects the relative power of organized interests and the actors who mobilize around them (DiMaggio 1988: 13; emphasis in original).

Comparisons of the Different Approaches

Thus far, I have examined the Selznick line of old institutionalism as well as early and more recent works in new institutionalism as the bases for constructing an alternative framework to explain institutional differences among organizations in an organizational field. Table 2-1 summarizes the similarities and differences among the approaches in sociological institutionalism.

First, early studies assumed organizational homogeneity, while the three other approaches allowed for, and tried to explain, organizational heterogeneity. Second, early studies focused on broad institutional contexts that were unitary and consistent, while the internal approach typically examines more heterogeneous but still broad contexts. In contrast, Selznick's version of old institutionalism paid attention to more specific, localized environments. The external approach attends to multiple institutional contexts, characterized as often being inconsistent, competing, conflicting, and contradictory.

Third, the major level of analysis employed by early works is the organizational field. In addition to the field, the external approach has studied the societal sector and

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[56]. For Zucker (1987: 444), the generation of institutions is intimately related to creating the meaning of new cultural elements at the organizational level.

[57]. DiMaggio (1988: 13) argues that "…institutionalization is a product of the political efforts of actors to accomplish their ends and…the success of an institutionalization project and the form that the resulting institution takes depend on the relative power of the actors who support, oppose, or otherwise strive to influence it."

world system. Meanwhile, individuals and organizations are the primary levels and units of analysis in both Selznick's tradition of old institutionalism and the internal approach.

Fourth, early studies took a mostly deterministic stance in which the institutional environment provided prescriptions or scripts for how organizations were expected to behave, and these analyses anticipated that organizations would blindly conform. The external approach is similar in that it tends to view the institutional environment as offering frameworks that constrain organizations. Yet, the external approach argues that such frameworks frequently are inconsistent and competing, opening possibilities for organizations to select one over others. Both Selznick's old institutionalism and the internal approach are more voluntaristic and emphasize the active roles of organizations and individuals in interpreting and influencing the environment.

Finally, while both early works and the external approach define institution and institutionalization as states, properties, or patterns, the internal approach conceives of them mainly as processes. Selznick's old institutionalism tends to see institution and institutionalization as a process as well as a state or property.

Table 2-1 Comparisons among the Intellectual Camps in Sociological Institutional Theory

Dimension	Earlier Studies in New Institutionalism	Selznick's Tradition of Old Institutionalism	Recent Work	
			Internal Approach	External Approach
Interest of Analysis	Heterogeneity	Homogeneity	Heterogeneity	Heterogeneity
Conceptualization of Environment	Broad institutional contexts	Specific localized contexts	Broad institutional contexts	Multiple Institutional contexts
Level of Analysis	Organizational Field	Organization	Individual and organization	Organizational field, societal, and world system
Relationship between Organization & Environment	Deterministic	Voluntaristic	Voluntaristic	Deterministic
Conceptualization of Institution and Institutionalization	State or property	Process and state or property	Process	State, property, or pattern

Elements for Constructing a Comprehensive Conceptual Framework

In this section, I delineate my own theoretical positions on these four dimensions, which further informs the conceptual framework. I also suggest several assumptions that underpin the study and present key components of the framework.

Conceptualization of Environment

In constructing a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional design among organizations, one of the critical issues is defining the "environment." Such work when studying organizations, of course, always has been vexing. According to Downley, Hellriegel, and Sloam (1975), the environment is composed of all elements existing outside an organization. This definition, however, is too broad to use to examine environmental influences on organizations, because the expected relationship between the environment and organizations is not clearly evident. For that reason, organizational theorists have divided organizational environments into the general and the specific, and they typically have focused on the specific (more immediate) organizational environment (Dill 1953).

Indeed, such organizational theories as contingency (Burns & Stalker 1961; Lawrence & Lorsch 1967; 1969; Thompson 1967), population ecology (Aldrich 1979; Hannan & Freeman 1977), resource dependence (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978), resource-based (Wernerfelt 1984; 1995), and institutional (Meyer & Rowan 1977) have developed by defining the specific environment and its relationships with organizations.[58] These theories have evolved by tapping particular aspects of the environment and then by examining its relationships with organizations based on distinctive assumptions about and definitions of the environment.

Approaches like contingency, resource dependence, and population ecology, for example, have conceptualized the environment by emphasizing its technical aspects (Hult 2003). These materialist perspectives have been concerned primarily with identifying external factors such as technology, information, and resources that affect organizational

[58] . See Hult (2003) for a detailed discussion of the different definitions of the environment and its relationships with organizations in the contingency, resource dependence, population ecology, and institutionalist perspectives.

tasks. In these perspectives, the technical (or task) environment is almost synonymous with competing markets in which goods and services are produced and exchanged and in which organizations are evaluated by their efficiency in generating outputs (Oliver 1991a; Powell 1991: 184; Scott 1995: 123).

In contrast, early new institutionalists tended to distinguish the institutional from the technical environment, with the former tapping "pressures generated external to the organization, such as those created by the state via law and regulation or by the professions, based on their widespread authority" (Zucker 1987: 447). Based on the alleged inconsistency between the two environments,[59] these studies primarily sought to identify institutional rules and norms and to investigate their effects on organizations in an organizational field. Again, in this view, organizations in a field should conform to institutional dictates in order to gain the legitimacy that is vital for survival.

More recently, organizational researchers have raised valid questions about the dichotomy between the technical and the institutional environments, with most indicating that it is too simple a distinction (e.g., Powell 1991; Scott & Meyer 1991). They contend, for example, that it is misleading because it ignores the likelihood that many facets of the technical environment are shaped and undergirded by institutional provisions (Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy 2002; Karnøe 1995; Powell 1991; Scott 1998: 131-139). Similarly, the dichotomy overlooks the fact that technologies also create new organizational fields and institutions.[60] This suggests that the technical and institutional

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[59]. In contrast, Selznick (1966: 37-41) contended that legitimacy was not incompatible with efficiency. Drawing from his study of TVA, he argued that the legitimate approach of cooperating with local constituencies (the grass-roots approach) was more efficient and effective in solving problems in implementing programs.

[60]. For decades, because of remarkable technological development we have witnessed the emergence of a variety of new industries and technological standards that constitute specific kind of rules and govern certain aspects of organizational activities within such industries. For example, in their study of Sun Microsystems and Java, Garud, et al. demonstrated that the development of Java – "as a new programming environment for the Internet" (2002: 201) – entailed the emergence of a new technological field accompanied by new institutional standards and criteria. They argue that Java enabled Sun to create a new technological field by "break[ing] away from the increasingly marginalized Unix field as well as counter-increasing dominance of the Windows technological fields" (201).

environments are not mutually exclusive; rather, they are interactive and interdependent. For example, as already indicated, it is not always clear whether organizational isomorphism comes from organizational conformity to institutional requirements (institutional isomorphism) or to technical efficiency concerns (competitive isomorphism), especially when mimetic behavior is involved.

Recent research tends to place technical-institutional relations on a continuum along which facets of the environment can be arrayed (Powell 1991; Scott 1998; Tolbert 1985; Zucker 1987). This is based on the recognition that organizations commonly operate in an environment in which both institutional and task requirements impose upon them. Here, I conceive of the institutional environment as encompassing components of the technical environment so that institutional rules often delineate how tasks should be executed. [61]

More importantly, I see an institutional environment as being inconsistent and conflicting, as the external approach asserts. The institutional environment is likely to offer *multiple logics* that may help produce the differences in institutional design among organizations in an organizational field.

In addition to the institutional ("nonlocal") environment, following Selznick, I also consider the specific local environment that organizations face. Clark and Mueller, for instance, emphasized the importance of the localized environment: "The national and local context is the very significant source of competitive advantage which means that in spite of 'globalization' the role of the home situation is more significant than ever before, because it is the source of the main technologies and skills which underpin competitive advantage" (1996: 129). Similarly, in my view, organizations are likely to have different localized environments that carry differing expectations and demands, depending on where they are located geographically and reputationally.

I conceptualize an organization as facing two different environments: institutional and local. The institutional environment is composed of multiple institutional logics. This

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See Brunsson and Jacobsson (2000), in particular, for more discussion of standards and standardization in organizational fields.

[61]. According to Frieland and Alford (1991: 241), "[i]nstitutions must be conceived of as simultaneously material and symbolic."

environment is *nonlocal* and has relatively *broader* effects on organizations throughout an organizational field. Meanwhile, the *local* environment is relatively specific and is limited to target organizations.

Level of Analysis

As discussed previously, institutional analyses of organizational variation have been conducted at various levels and with differing units of analysis. Recently, multilevel approaches have received increasing attention in institutional analysis[62] (e.g., Friedland & Alford 1991; Greenwood & Hinings 1996; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings 2002). Works that adopt the multilevel approach assume that "[*i*]*nstitutions operate at a variety of levels, and their elements can be embedded in and carried by cultures, by regimes, and by formal organizations*" (Scott 1994a: 70; emphasis in original).

In a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional design, what levels of analysis should be used? The answers clearly will be depending on researchers' interests and foci. Friedland and Alford (1991) suggest individuals, organizations, and

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[62]. According to Klein, Tosi, and Cannella, the multilevel approach promotes "much needed synthesis and synergy within the organizational sciences" (1999: 243). They contend that such an approach can enrich analysis by "bridg[ing] the macro-micro divide, integrating the micro domain's focus on individuals and groups with the macro domain's focus on organizations, environment, and strategy" (243). Moreover, they argue that it helps to integrate organizational behavior and organizational theory. From that viewpoint, it is apparent that the multilevel approach works to integrate the micro and the macro levels of analysis, and it helps organizational researchers apply more comprehensive frameworks in investigating complex organizational phenomena, which may result in *bridging the gap between organizational behavior and organizational theory*.

The relationships between and among levels of analysis, however, are not absolute; rather, in my view, where one divides the macro from the micro is relative. In particular, Klein, et al.'s analysis (1999) is problematic in its location of organizations at the macro level. It seems instead that the organizational level is at the borderline between the macro and the micro. Therefore, it appears more logical to treat the organizational level as being both macro and micro. Organizations can be treated as being at the macro level in relationships with individuals and groups because they provide certain contexts that affect individual and group behavior. Similarly, organizations can be considered to be the micro level when they are viewed as being constrained by environmental contexts. Organizations also can be treated at a "meso" level located between groups and the environment.

institutions (as an environment) as the levels of analysis that should be employed in institutional analysis. They then incorporate these levels in explaining organizational variations, stressing the dynamic interactions among individuals, organizations, and the environment. The key implication is that the three levels are interdependent rather than existing and operating separately.

> An adequate social theory must work at three levels of analysis – individuals competing and negotiating, organizations in conflict and coordination, and institutions in contradiction and interdependency…All three levels of analysis are necessary to adequately understand society. Each level of analysis is equally an abstraction and a reification; each is implicated in the other; none is more "real" than any other. Individual action can be explained in a societal context, but that context can only be understood through individual consciousness and behavior. We conceive of these levels of analysis as "nested," where organization and institution specify progressively higher levels of constraint and opportunity for individual action (Friedland & Alford 1991: 240-242).

In what follows, I maintain that any differences in institutional design among organizations are multilevel phenomena that should be studied at multiple levels. I focus on the institutional (within organizations), organizational, population, and field levels to investigate whether and why differences in institutional design exist.

Relationship between Environment and Organizations

As discussed earlier, the external approach is dominated by a deterministic tone, while Selznick's version of old institutionalism and the internal approach take more voluntaristic stances. Much recent research has blended the external and internal approaches by considering the relationships between organizations and the environment to be mutually constitutive and co-evolving (Carney & Gedajlovic 2002; Dobbin & Sutton 1998; Edelman 1992; Haveman & Rao 1997), "rather than the dominance of one over the other" (Lawrence 1999: 161). This work has been attentive to the interplay of social structure and agency by employing Giddens's concept of structuration (Beckert 1999; Hung & Wittington 1997; Lawrence 1999; Whittington 1992).[63] It suggests that

[63]. Berkert (1999: 789) interpreted Giddens's dualism of agency and social structure as follows: "A promising conceptualization that comes closer to a solution to the problem is provided by Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration…for Giddens, the routinized character of day-to-day activities does not imply that agents cannot make deliberate

organizational environments affect organizational actions by providing specific contexts that constrain them; at the same time, organizations are likely to be actively involved in the social construction of their environments.[64]

Carney and Gedajlovic (2002) propose a co-evolutionary framework based on the idea of mutual and reciprocal influences between the institutional environment and organization actions. They contend that, in contrast to many institutional accounts, their framework includes a greater role for organizational actors by paying more attention to how organizational actions shape institutions that exist outside organizations. Here, I conceive of the current states of institutional designs in organizations as being likely to reflect such mutually constitutive and co-evolving relationships between organizations and the environment.

Conceptualization of Institution and Institutionalization

According to Hirsch and Lounsbury, treating "institutions as dependent and independent variables offers an exciting prospect for expanding the discipline's capacity to explain multiple aspects of the *same* phenomena" (1997: 410; emphasis added). Indeed, such tendency has contributed to the richness of institutional theory through expanding its domain of interests. The approaches explored in this chapter have attempted to provide differing accounts of similar phenomena depending on where each considered institutions to be located (that is, their *locus*) and the institutional role each emphasized (their *focus*).

For instance, the external approach assumes that institutions are located outside organizations and constitute an institutional environment, providing constraints on organizational behavior. It hypothesizes that organizational diversity occurs because of multiple institutions that offer differing institutional logics, rules, norms, and values. In contrast, the internal approach emphasizes the microtranslation of macroenvironmental

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choices. On the contrary, Giddens sees as one of the main characteristics of modern societies the issue of choice…Action cannot be understood as the simple execution of existing scripts, but develops in duality between agency and structure."

[64]. In terms of the social construction of organizational environments, Lawrence argues that "organizational environments are constituted, reproduced and transformed through organizational action and relationships" (1999: 161).

prescriptions. It argues that institutions reside within organizations, and it focuses on the process of "*generation* (meaning creation of new cultural elements)" (Zucker 1987: 444; emphasis in original). Like Selznick's line of old institutionalism,[65] the internal approach contends that organizations create, maintain, and change institutions in interactions with external forces. Zucker notes that "[*i]mplemented* institutional elements commonly arise from within the organization itself or from imitation of other similar organizations, not from power or coercive processes located in the state or elsewhere" (1987: 446; emphasis in original).

As Scott (1994b) observes, different sorts of institutions exist and operate at various levels of analysis. In my view, at least three different kinds of institutions exist at the levels of the society, organizational field, and organization.[66] First, institutions that exist at the societal level are composed of political (e.g., voting, legislatures), economic (e.g., markets), and socio-cultural (e.g., marriage, lunar and solar calendars, Anglo-Saxonism) systems; together, these constitute the general institutional environment. They commonly provide organizations with broader contexts that have indirect (and sometimes direct) impact on them.

Institutions also exist in an organizational field; these constitute an institutional environment at this level of analysis. They usually offer sets of prescriptions, rules, requirements, and norms that may have direct and immediate effects on organizations throughout the field. This might be termed the specific institutional environment.

In addition, institutions reside in organizations. Organizations create institutions to cope with social as well as internal needs. Such institutions often are imitated by other organizations, and they are subject to being influenced by institutions at higher levels.

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[65]. From the perspective of old institutionalism, Stinchcombe stated: "[i]nstitutions are staffed and created to do the job of regulating organizations. This staffing, and all the creative work that is involved in financing, governing, training, and motivating institutional actions by that staff in organizations, has been lost in recent institutional theorizing. This staffing was central to the old institutionalism, which is why it looked so different" (1997: 1).

[66]. One may add the institutions that exist at the global level in the form of international laws and rules provided by such organizations as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Finally, some institutions operate at multiple levels. For instance, the market system may operate in an organizational field as well as in a society. Some financing or training systems may run not only in organizations but also in organizational fields. Although the institutions at different levels may seem to exist independently, they are related to and interact with each other. Organizations, for example, create and operate institutions to cope with demands and expectations from both the society and the organizational field; organizations may introduce a new management system to deal with globalization (at the societal level) or new regulations (at the organizational field level). Here, I concentrate on different institutions that exist at the organizational field and the organizational levels. The analysis will focus on the relationships between institutions in a field (the independent variable) and those in organizations (the dependent variable).

Recently, institutional theorists have treated institutions and institutionalization as having both process and property characteristics (Zucker 1991).[67] As Scott notes:

> …for some purposes, we treat an institution as an entity, as a cultural or social system characterized by one or more features or properties. On other occasions, we are interested in institutionalization as process, as the growth (or decline) over time of cultural-cognitive, normative, or regulative elements capable, to varying degrees, of providing meaning and stability to social behavior (2001: 92).

I agree, and I conceive of institutions and institutionalization as having both features. Yet, in this study, I emphasize the property aspect of institutions by employing a variance rather than a process approach,[68] since I am more interested in identifying a set of

[67]. According to Zucker, "[institutionalization] is the process by which individual actors transmit what is socially defined as real, and at the same time, at any point in the process the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less a taken-for-granted part of this social reality. Institutionalized act, then, must be perceived as both objective and exterior. Acts are objective when they are potentially repeatable by other actors without changing the common understanding of acts, while acts are exterior when subjective understanding of acts is reconstructed as intersubjective understanding so that the acts are seen as part of the external world" (1991: 85).

[68]. Scott pointed out that "although the two views obviously are closely related, our modes of analysis tend to emphasize one or the other, and the theoretical frameworks and methodologies we employ are likely to vary" (1995: 64). He divided institutional analysis into two approaches that differ depending on how an institution is conceived; the variance approach sees institutions as property and the process perspective views an

possible causal relationships among variables. I consider an institution to be an entity that has a central and distinctive character (an identity) that resides in organizations. In particular, I anticipate that a conception of institutions as property can address the issue of organizational motives and strategies to make internal institutions distinctive, which may give organizations a "competitive advantage" (Porter 1990). When an organization assumes a distinctive character, as Selznick (1984) argued, it is likely to end up being characterized by distinctive competence. That distinctive competence, seen as a property (or resource), may be what brings a competitive advantage to the organization.[69] I assume that the main motive behind organizations selecting different institutional designs is to make the institutions attractive in order to bring competitive advantage "depend[ing] on asymmetry or uniqueness" (Stimert, et al. 1998: 85; 88). Selznick (1984) would contend as well that the construction and maintenance of a distinctive institutional identity might enhance the chances of organizational and institutional survival.

Based on these differing institutional approaches and my own conceptions and emphases, the next chapter turns to constructing a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional design among organizations.

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institution as a process. See Mohr (1982) and Scott (1994b: 81-99; 1995: 64-89; 2001: 92-95) for more discussion of the variance and process approaches.

In the variance approach, which seeks causes that have effects on observed outcomes, "precursor (independent) variables are seen as a necessary and sufficient condition for [variation in] the outcome (dependent) variables" (Scott 1995: 64).

[69]. To account for organizational heterogeneity, Oliver supports the view of resource-based theory that "[i]t is the rational identification and use of resources that are valuable, rare, difficult to copy, and nonsubstituteable which lead to enduring firm variation and supernormal profits" (1997b: 697).

CHAPTER THREE

CONSTRUCTING THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Over the last decade, interest in exploring organizational heterogeneity has grown considerably among institutional theorists. In particular, researchers have sought to create a comprehensive model that accounts for such heterogeneity. Some have focused on reconciling the old and new institutionalisms (e.g., Greenwood & Hinings 1996; Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Holm 1995; Kraatz & Zajac 1996),[70] while others have tried to bring together components of the internal and external institutional approaches (e.g., Bigelow & Stone 1995; Goodrick & Salancik 1996; Goodstein 1994; Lounsbury 2001; Oliver 1991; Scott 1994a; 1995; 2001; Scott & Ruef 1998; Whitley 2000).[71]

These works, however, typically fail to suggest how the parts can be joined together. As a way of addressing this, several studies have either employed the concept of identity or used a similar idea such as character, characteristics, or saga as the appropriate mechanism for explaining diversity in institutional design among organizations (e.g., Brunsson 1989; Clark 1970; Oliver 1988). In particular, a cohort of European scholars in the institutional tradition of analysis has attempted to utilize identity to explain variations in institutional design (e.g., Czarniawska & Joerges 1996; Forssell & Jansson 1996; Sahlin-Andersson 1996; Sevón 1996). Yet, none of these explicitly argues that identities exist at different levels of analysis or that institutional designs can be explained by the relationships between identities that exist at varying levels.

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[70]. For instance, Selznick (1996: 274-296) suggests that a reconciliation of old and new institutionalisms should focus on responsive and problem-solving behavior to bridge the nonrational and the rational. It also should encompass all elements that each intellectual stream emphasized and trace their connections.

[71]. Although I distinguish between these efforts to construct a comprehensive framework for explaining organizational differences, they are not so different from each other. Rather, both overlap in many ways as they try to balance the relationship between organizations and the environment. The distinction between the two is a matter of degree, depending on whether one emphasizes reconciling old and new institutionalisms or combining internal and external approaches.

I seek to extend this line of institutional research by employing the concept of identity as a key part of my conceptual framework. More specifically, I contend that identities exist at several levels of analysis such as the institutional (within organizations), organizational, population, and field and that institutional designs can be understood as relationships between identities in an institution (in an organization) and the surrounding context. Here, I probe the fit between identities in institutions and three specific contexts: multiple institutional, localized, and organizational. I believe that an investigation of the relationships between identities at different levels of analysis will provide a powerful way of analyzing why organizations design their institutions as they do, for example, by emphasizing particular aspects of institutions. This perspective may well offer insight into how identities at varying levels shape identities in institutions.

As mentioned previously, the study's primary purpose is to construct a multilevel framework for explaining organizational similarities and differences in institutional design. This chapter introduces such a framework based on integrating elements of the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism and more recent work in new institutionalism. I present elements of the framework by specifying the variables employed: institutional designs (the dependent variable), organizational belief systems (an intermediate variable), and multiple institutional logics and organizational positions (independent variables). I also discuss the institutional analysis of variation from the perspective of identity to undergird my argument that identity relationships should be considered to be key in institutional designs. I explore as well the interplay among identities, choices, and sensemaking in designing institutions. Lastly, drawing on this material and that discussed in Chapter Two, the alternative model for explaining differences in institutional design is introduced.

Building Blocks of a Comprehensive Conceptual Framework

The components of the conceptual framework for explaining variation include multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. All generate specific contexts and serve as *divergent* forces that produce variations in institutional design among organizations. I discuss institutional design by emphasizing

that it is an *identity construct* established in interactions with multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems that embed identities at the levels of the field, population, and organization respectively. This aspect of institutional design also will be examined in greater detail later in the chapter.

Dependent Variable: Institutional Designs ("Institutional Identities")

An organization generates institutions that are "a reflection of the unique way in which [an organization] fulfills [its] needs" (Selznick 1984: 17). At the same time, it creates and operates institutions in responding to the specific needs of a society.[72] An organization designs its institution(s) to meet these needs by defining the components of institutions and by specifying the ways that the components are structured. Through a particular institutional design, an organization provides its members with an arrangement that sets rules, logics, norms, and values governing particular aspects of organizational life and that guides "an institutionalized way of carrying out a social function" (Selznick 1992: 233).

Organizations within an organizational field are apt to design their institutions in varying ways by emphasizing on particular characteristics (e.g., efficiency, the public interest, or service-mindedness) over others. Institutional designs of type N are likely to have differing components and structures ($N_1 \ldots N_{i)}$) [73]

$N_i = \{N_1, N_2, N_3, N_4, N_5 \ldots.\}$

In spite of the impact of globalization on public management, for instance, Hood (1995) found that there was considerable variation in the extent to which different OECD

[72]. For example, organizations may have an affirmative action policy to prevent possible discrimination and to assure equal employment opportunity in employment practices.

[73]. Polymorphism is a useful label for the differences in institutional designs that may appear among organizations. The concept of polymorphism in institutional analysis implies that institutional structures and components in organizations may vary. Related to polymorphism, Pedersen and Dobbin found that: "[m]anagers choose scripts and fads to adopt, and they transform those scripts and fads both at the stage of implementation and at the stage of local sense making and interpretation. Managers thereby enumerate their organizations as distinct and unique within narrow limits, using highly institutionalized building blocks" (1997: 441).

countries adopted the New Public Management (NPM) in the 1980s. He discovered significant differences in the extent, direction, and content of the NPM principles adopted by OECD countries (even Anglo-American countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

Here, I view an institutional design as "[a] way organizations present themselves to the environment" (Brunsson 1989: 11) as well as to organizational members; that is, it is an articulation of institutional identity. Institutional designs are likely to differ in their distinctive components and structures. Each design is likely to possess its own distinctive identity(ies), which convey the centrality of particular institutional attributes.

Baron (2002), for example, discusses organizational employment practices that have distinctive institutional identities. He observes that each practice differs in "selecting particular types of people with particular kinds of attitudes and abilities to pursue particular goals in particular kinds of ways, motivated by particular kinds of rewards" (Baron 2002: 5). Similarly, in a study of the American health care sector between 1965 and 1994, Ruef (2000) found various arrangements for delivering health care, including Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), Independent Practice Associations (IPAs), Professional Review Organizations (PROs), and Community Health Centers (CHCs). He argued that each different organizational form had distinctive institutional arrangements in which institutional identities were embedded.

Here, I treat differences in institutional design embedded with certain identity(ies) as the primary dependent variable. I propose that such differences are likely to be affected by several contextual factors: multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. I contend that these factors are likely to produce differing institutional designs among organizations. It is to these variables that I turn next.

Independent Variables: Multiple Institutional Logics and Organizational Positions

In Chapter Two, I conceptualized the external environment of organizations as consisting of institutional and localized environments. I characterized the institutional environment as having multiple institutional logics that frequently are inconsistent and

competing and the localized one as being focalized around organizations depending on where they are located. Here, both the institutional and the localized environments are independent variables that affect organizational belief systems as well as institutional designs.

Multiple Institutional Logics: The Institutional Context ("Field Identity")

As discussed earlier, an organizational field is a set of related actors and the patterned interactions among them (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). It is "instrumental to processes by which socially constructed expectations and practices become disseminated and reproduced" (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings 2002: 58). This suggests that specific practices and how they are to be disseminated and reproduced are determined at the level of the organizational field; such determinations are directly associated with structuring organizational fields.

One of the significant aspects in structuring organizational fields is constructing the constitutive rules delineating categories, boundaries, and typifications that constitute a field identity as a whole (Scott 1995: 41-42). The structuration of an organizational field means the characterization of the field as a whole, and organizations in the field are involved in the process of defining this field identity.[74]

Through the structuration of organizational fields, a prevalent interactive scheme is institutionalized and becomes taken-for-granted as objective knowledge (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Forssell & Jansson 1996; Meyer & Rowan 1977; Sahlin-Andersson 1996). More importantly, via this process, a coherent pattern of action may develop and become a dominant logic, generating the meaning, typification, and identity of organizational fields (Sahlin-Andersson 1996: 74).[75]

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[74]. As long as they agree with the identity, organizations also collectively attempt to maintain an established field identity: "[t]he common belief in and adherence to the importance of the definition of what the activities are all about holds the field together" (Sahlin-Andersson 1996: 73-74). As such, the field identity is collectively constructed and maintained by organizations (participants) in the organizational field.

[75]. It is worth noting that social demands and expectations are discussed and interpreted within the boundary of an organizational field in the process of structuring that field.

Once an organizational field is structured, it is characterized by a "distinctive style" that reflects distinctive institutional facets (Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy 2002: 198). DiMaggio's (1991) study of the cultural construction of art museums in late 19th century America is a typical example of how an identity is constructed at the field level. He demonstrated that the identity of these museums was determined by art professionals, museum patrons, and the Carnegie Corporation through "the emergence of fieldwide organizations and developing consensus about many aspects of museum form and function" (1991: 268).

Again, the structuration of organizational fields involves constructing collective belief(s) and identity(ies) in the form of institutional logic(s). An institutional logic is "a set of material practices and symbolic constructions, which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford 1991: 248). The logic helps organizations in a field define "appropriate domains of operation, principles of organizing, and criteria of evaluation" (Kondra & Hinings 1998: 744).

As Chapter Two noted, organizational isomorphism by early work in sociological new institutionalism was based on two assumptions; the institutional environment was coherent and consistent and had a dominant institutional logic through the structuration of organizational field; and the environment forced them to respond in unified ways. This argument for isomorphism has two implications. First, the existence of a dominant logic in an organizational field suggests that the field is likely to be governed by a coherent and consistent identity ("field identity"). Second, the isomorphism resulting from unified ways of responding to the institutional environment indicates that organizations in the same organizational field are likely to have identities similar to that of the field, since they are apt to employ the principles of organizing that the dominant institutional logic suggests ("organizational identity").

In contrast, recent scholars in new institutionalism, especially those pursuing what I have termed the external approach, have turned their attention to the differences in how organizations respond to the institutional environment. They contend that "[a]lthough organizations confront and are shaped by institutions, these institutional systems are not necessarily unified or coherent" (Scott 2001: 160). An institutional environment, in this

view, is composed of a set of "frameworks of programs or rules establishing *identities* and activity scripts for such *identities*" (Jepperson 1991: 146; emphases added), which are often inconsistent, competing, and even contradictory. An organizational field is not guaranteed to have (a) commonly agreed-upon institutional logic(s); although a dominant logic may prevail for a certain period of time, sooner or later it is likely to be challenged by other logics.

Accordingly, it is more likely that a variety of ideas about how organizations should act are simultaneously created, contested, and compete in organizational fields. Each idea is likely to be accompanied by a distinctive identity that organizations assume. This implies that a field can be characterized by multiple contested identities, "where multiple field constituents compete over the definition of issues and the form of institutions that will guide organizational behavior" (Hoffman 1999: 352).[76]

More importantly, the institutionalization of a field (i.e., the construction of a field identity) is a never-ending story, for it is likely to be incomplete and contested (DiMaggio 1988). This is a ceaseless process of institutionalizing and deinstitutionalizing the field identity as a whole. Myriad influences may work to prevent an organizational field from having a dominant institutional logic. As a result, the institutional environment is likely to offer organizations in a field multiple, often inconsistent and competing institutional logics that "establish frameworks within which knowledge claims are situated and provide the rules by which the claims are validated and challenged" (Scott 1994a: 60), producing "multiple field identities."

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[76]. This perspective is consistent with Bourdieu's definition of organizational fields, which puts more weight on the divergence of ideas and opinions in the field. If one accepts Bourdieu's concept of organizational field ("a defined group of actors – people and organizations – who fight or compete about something they have in common, and regard as important" [cited in Sahlin-Andersson 1996: 73]), the existence of multiple models and competition among them in the field seem to be inevitable. Put differently, defining a field identity may be viewed as a political process in which competing interests and ideas are contested, negotiated, and reconciled. It is nothing less than a legitimacy battle. For instance, in their case study of Java, Garud, et al. observe that "competition among technologies occurs both between and within evaluation criteria" (2002: 198). They claim "…legitimacy battles are manifest…in clashes between alternative technological trajectories within a field, as each vies to become the 'dominant design'" (2002: 197-198).

The external approach emphasizes this multiplicity of institutional pressures in arguing that the complexity and uncertainty of the institutional environment helps explain organizational variation. The institutional environment is likely to be complex when multiple institutional logics exist in an organizational field, since such logics are apt to provide different institutional standards and rationales for organizational actions and practices. Similarly, the institutional environment is likely to be uncertain when there are no clear and concrete guidelines or criteria for how to get things done. Goodrick and Salancik (1996: 4-5) suggest three conditions that affect the uncertainty of institutional standards. First, the institutional environment is apt to be uncertain when the means to accomplish agreed-upon goals is left unspecified**.** Second, institutional uncertainty is likely to arise from the lack of a clear linkage between a specific form of practice and the institutions supporting it. In this case, such relationships are likely to be ambiguous, unknown, or inconsistent, for actors do not have information regarding what institutions undergird which forms of practice. Finally, institutional values may be uncertain; at worst, they may be conflicting or even contradictory. Goodrick and Salancik (1996: 5) argue that when institutional beliefs and standards are uncertain, no specific form of practice is taken for granted; rather, a range of acceptable forms is legitimate in a particular context, which means that forms themselves may vary from case to case.

The observation that multiple institutional logics exist and compete for attention implies that the institutional environment does not provide "unanimous answers as to how agents should act" (Beckert 1999: 780). Unlike the argument that there might be one proper way of responding to the institutional environment, there may well be *multiple* ways**,** which would result in organizational diversity (Scott 1991; 1994b).

Since the institutional environment is composed of a set of multiple institutions that may be inconsistent, competing, and even contradictory and since it does not provide a unified prescription for organizational behavior, "[m]ost types of organizations confront multiple sources and types of symbolic or cultural systems and…they exercise some choice in selecting the systems with which to connect" (Scott 1991: 181). Organizations are likely to act strategically and take advantage of their discretion when multiple institutional logics exist in an organizational field (Goodstein 1994). According to Hung and Wittington (1997), for example, strategies employed by individual firms followed no

single logic in the Taiwanese computer industry. Instead, considerable strategic diversity appeared, with the multiple logics provided by various political, technological and business systems. Thornton (2002) also found that firms in higher education publishing tended to adopt differing organizational strategies and structures depending on whether they employed editorial or market logic. Publishers that adopted an editorial logic were likely to have relational network forms of organization, while those that relied on market logic tended to have divisionalized forms of organization. Whitley (2000: 857) examined the relationships between institutional arrangements and governance structures to account for "how variations in institutional characteristics encourage different approaches to developing innovations and result in different patterns of technological development."[77] He argued that when institutional features are few, firms are likely to have fragmented governing structures; conversely, when there are many institutional features, firms are likely to have a collaborative governing structure.

Here, I conceive of the institutional environment as being composed of a set of institutions that embody multiple, often inconsistent and competing institutional logics; such logics (which embed distinctive identities) may produce differences in institutional design among organizations.

Organizational Positions: The Localized Context ("Population Identity")

In addition to the institutional environment, organizations confront another kind of environment, the localized one. The identity of an organization may be significantly influenced by its interaction with the localized environment. Unlike the institutional environment, which affects organizations throughout a field, organizational positions – locations in both space and time – place organizations in more localized contexts with particular demands and expectations. This organizational specific localized environment is consistent with the Selznick's notion of local environment.

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[77]. He enumerated institutional features as strengths of state coordination, intermediaries, the financial system, collaborative public training systems, union, and trust in formal institutions, and categorized six types of firms' governing structures such as fragmented, coordinated industrial district, compartmentalized, collaborative, highly coordinated, or state organized.

As the previous chapter mentioned, Selznick (1984) pointed out that organizations were likely to employ a set of distinctive characters in interactions with their localized environments. The Selznick view of institutionalization is no other than a localization of organizations that invites localized expectations and demands into organizations, which incorporate elements of these expectations and demands. Since organizations are likely to be in differing spatial locations and thus be affected by varying localized environments, they may end up with a variety of institutional designs to meet localized expectations and demands. Scott described this aspect of Selznick's institutionalization:

> [I]t is that via a broad array of adaptive processes occurring over a period of time and ranging from cooptation of the representatives of relevant environmental elements to the evolution of specialized boundary roles to deal with strategic contingencies, organizations come to mirror or replicate salient aspects of environmental differentiation in their own structures (1991: 179).

The differential impact of localized contexts on organizations is captured well by Goodrick and Salancik's (1996) examination of how varying hospital settings affected cesarean practices. Extending previous studies that showed that for-profit hospitals focused more on providing profitable services than nonprofit ones did, they found that hospital settings had considerable influence on cesarean practices. For-profit hospitals were most likely to perform cesareans based on patients' measured risk characteristics,[78] while government teaching hospitals were least likely to do so.

Erich Studer-Ellis (cited in Aldrich 1999: 179-180) also showed how different organizational locations affect organizational decisions. He examined how two women's colleges (Smith and Vassar) reached different decisions concerning whether to remain

[78]. "In deciding to perform a cesarean, practitioners consider the medical conditions of the mother and her fetus. These medical conditions are described in terms of two different types of risk characteristics, measured and inferred. Measured risk characteristics are those that may be directly responsible for a cesarean section, including labor complications or an infant's birth weight. They are logged in the medical record during labor as indications supporting the surgical treatment. Inferred risk characteristics indirectly indicate that a woman or her baby might be at risk for a cesarean section and include such factors as the woman's age and whether she has previously given birth. Theses are not directly responsible for a cesarean section but typically are thought to signal a need to monitor patients for developments of more direct measurable risk factors" (Goodrick & Salancik 1996: 8).

single-sex under tremendous institutional pressures to shift to co-education in the 1960s and 1970s. Organizational location was one of the key factors that accounted for the different decisions made by the two colleges. The colleges are located in different geographic areas, which affected their decisions. Smith College opted to remain all women, since it was located in the Pioneer Valley area of Western Massachusetts where it was possible to construct partnerships with four other major colleges and universities; it saw few benefits in co-education in terms of, for instance, increasing classroom diversity or revenue. Meanwhile, Vassar began admitting males, since its location in Poughkeepsie, New York gave it few opportunities to take advantage of such alliances or partnerships.

Similarly, Hung and Whittington (1997) emphasized local context in explaining the diverse strategies adopted by firms in the Taiwanese computer industry. In particular, employing Anthony Giddens's (1984: 83-92: cited in Hung & Whittington 1997: 552-555) concept of "system positioning," they found that individual firms in the Taiwanese computer industry adopted different strategies according to where they were positioned in the political, business, and technology systems.

The idea that organizations are likely to have different specific environments also seems compatible with the population ecology concept of niche, "a distinct combination of resources and other constraints that are sufficient to support an organizational form" (Aldrich 1999: 226). In this view, organizations facing similar conditions in terms of their positions in the environment are likely to occupy the same niche in a population, which will result in the organizations having similar identities (Hannan & Freeman 1977). This raises the possibility as well of multiple population identities. Differing niches are likely to provide organizations with variable localized contexts.

This insight has several implications. First, organizations may occupy different niches depending on their locations in the population: "Organizations…differ in the number and kinds of *linkages* they have with other actors in their environment" (Scott 2001: 166; emphasis added), which may result in having different niches. Organizations in a population also may face differing kinds of environments, and they are likely to have different constraints and opportunities based on their positions in the population (Kangas & Olzak 2003: 5).

Second, the observation that organizations occupy different niches helps trigger another expectation. "[T]o the extent that an organization in a population faces unique environmental constraints, it is hypothesized to adopt a form or set of characteristics that is unique in comparison with other organizations in the same population" (Oliver 1988: 544-545). Since organizations are likely to confront different environmental constraints, demands, and expectations depending on their positions, it can be hypothesized that the impact of environments may vary according to the niches that they occupy in the population, which in turn may produce organizational variation (Scott 2001: 173).

Lastly, one of the distinctive features of population ecology theory is its emphasis on environmental selection; the environment outside organizations is highly deterministic in shaping organizational structures and practices (Hannan & Freeman 1977). Despite this stress on the impact of environmental constraints, more recent study in population ecology tends to focus on the role of actors, especially in explaining *variations* found in organizational populations (e.g., Baum 1999). Baum contends: "Some variations…are thus selected positively – not by the *environment,* but by managers inside organizations and by investors, customers, and government regulators in the external environment" (1999: 72; emphasis in original). This suggests that it is not an *environmental condition* but *a choice of organizational members* to have a particular institutional structure or practice when an organization interacts with its environment.

Along these lines, I contend that an emphasis should be placed on investigating organizational tendencies to choose niches congruent with their institutional identity(ies). When organizations face different niches containing different demands and expectations, they are likely to choose specific niches consistent with what or who they are. This niche-searching activity should be viewed as an organization's adaptive endeavor to take on specific roles that may lead to distinctive competencies in carrying out social functions.

Recently, several population ecology theorists have started to pay attention to identity and the relationships between organizations (or institutions) and niches within populations (e.g., Carroll & Swaminathan 2000; Kangas & Olzak 2003; Ruef 2000). This has been one of the least explored spheres in studying niches in which certain identities are embedded and in which they are delivered to organizations in the form of demands and expectations. In this understanding, a niche is viewed as being composed of a set of

identities; this places organizations in an identity context, which in turn may influence organizational behavior. Ruef (2002) called it a "new ecological approach" to focus on a set of organizational forms related to identities. This new work seeks to explain identity-dependent patterns in institutional forms related to distinctive environmental niches. It focuses on niches in a population that have distinctive identities. It argues that identities containing differing demands and expectations are likely to affect the construction of institutional (and organizational) identities. Examining forty-eight organizational forms in health care, Ruef (2000) suggests that the emergence of new organizational forms (that is, new institutional identities) is likely to be influenced by the positioning of their identities with respect to existing identities in the population.

Similarly, Baron (2002: 4) contends that organizations are likely to face different constituencies depending on where they are positioned; those constituencies may well offer a different set of identities for any given niche in a population. Such "constituencies are likely to differ significantly from the general population in terms of values and orientations that are central to organizational identity" (Baron 2002: 16). Each niche is likely to have salient categories and bases of identities, which serve as grounds for constructing identities in institutions as well as in organizations.

In sum, based on their positions in the (localized) environment, institutions (and organizations) confront and are constrained by different niches embedding distinctive identities. Therefore, it is important to analyze the demands and expectations of the localized environment, for organizations are likely to bring elements of their niche into the organization and then to institutionalize them. This in turn may affect the construction of institutional and organizational identities. Here, I suggest that organizational positions in differing localized environments (that is, in varying niches) will produce variations in institutional design among organizations.

Intermediate Variable: Organizational Belief Systems ("Organizational Identity")

The notion that multiple institutional logics exist in organizational fields is crucial for understanding organizational heterogeneity, and it has opened the door to helping

explain a variety of organizational choices.[79] Yet, alone, it has not provided much help in understanding why some organizations take one path while others take another. Here, building on the ideas reviewed below, I propose that organizational belief systems help shape organizational responses.

To account for varying organizational responses to the institutional environment, organizational researchers taking the internal approach pay special attention to what goes on inside organizations. They have striven to illuminate the standards or guidelines that organizations follow when responding to the institutional environment. Zucker (1987: 451), for example, sought to answer the question: "When the institutional project is successful, why are some organizations interpenetrated by the institutional environment, while others are not?" She contended that internal goals and values, the legitimacy of external control, and the relative power of the organization might help explain differences in adopting institutional rules. Greenwood and Hinings (1996) suggested four aspects of internal dynamics that affected organizational variations: interest dissatisfaction, value commitments, power dependencies, and capacity for action. Whitley (2000) studied the impact of governance structures on the types of innovation strategies. He found that organizations governed by owners, which were relatively small, were likely to rely mostly on existing knowledge to meet rapid changes in market demands and were less interested in "develop[ing] long-term organizational capabilities with high levels of technical expertise" (Whitley 2000: 874). In contrast, alliance-coordinated organizations were "strongly encouraged to develop technologically related diversifications strategies that enhance[d] their organizational competences by their long-term commitments to many employees and business partners. These commitments [led] to the dominance of growth goals and a willingness to pursue new products, technologies and markets through the continuous improvement and expansion of current capabilities and knowledge…" (Whitley 2000: 877).

[79]. For instance, according to Edelman (1992: 1567), "…legal ambiguity, procedural constraints, and weak enforcement mechanisms leave the meaning of compliance open to organizational construction…" Organizational construction, of course, here is viewed as a matter of organizational discretion.

In particular, some scholars revisited the rational choice perspective by stressing such concepts as agency and interest (Covaleski & Dirsmith 1988; Powell 1991; Scott 1991).[80] Organizations are viewed not as helpless followers of institutional requirements, but rather as being likely to make choices in pursuit of self-interest when responding to the institutional environment. In contrast, Selznick emphasizes the normative aspect of organizational responses to the institutional environment. An organization should be a "responsible self"[81] that puts more weight on the social responsibility of organizations (1992: 207-228); it should act in its long-run interest "attuned to the requirements of reason" rather than on short-run interest narrowly "focused on definite and measurable gains" (1992: 533).

In my view, however, it is problematic to assume that organizations respond to the institutional environment based only on their self-interests or on social responsibility. Instead, I argue that organizational self-interest and social responsibility can be conceived as the ends of a continuum. For instance, some organizations may put more weight on their self-interests, while others may place relatively more emphasis on organizational responsibility to society in responding to the institutional environment. More importantly, I propose that such differing preferences and values are likely to be shaped by varying organizational belief systems, which can be viewed as organizational mind-sets governed by organizational culture. Such a culture is "sustained by a sense of community…that accommodates a broad range of interests" (Selznick 1992: 237-238).

According to Schein, "[an organizational] culture is a set of shared meanings that make it possible for members of a group to interpret and act upon their environment"

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[80]. They have looked to organizational self-interest as the main factor in selecting organizational practices. DiMaggio (1988) observes that institutional theorists have paid attention to two kinds of interests in explaining organizational behavior: predictability and survival. It should be noted, however, that "[b]ecause these interests are regarded as universal and thus invariant, they cannot in themselves explain variation in organizational structure or practice" (1988: 8).

[81]. Selznick (1992: 227-228) suggested three ways that an actor could be a responsible self: character-defining choice, self-affirming participation, and personal statesmanship. In particular, he outlined three kinds of responsible self when making character-defining choices: "responsibility *for* the self (what I have become), *to* the self (sustaining and strengthening my moral character), and *of* the self (accepting as my own the consequence of my existence and my acts)" (Selznick 1992: 227; emphasis in original).

(1984: 3).[82] He insisted that organizational culture "should be reserved for deeper level of *basic assumptions* and *beliefs* that are shared by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously, and that…fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment" (Schein 1985: 6). Organizational culture is composed of a set of beliefs or assumptions that governs the ways that organizations perceive, think, and feel; shared organizational beliefs are likely to shape an organization's world view and thus become a core element of its culture (Schein 1981; 1991b). He was attentive to organizational beliefs, asserting their importance for organizational members "giving meaning to their daily lives, setting guidelines and rules for how to behave, and, most importantly, reducing and containing the anxiety of dealing with an unpredictable and uncertain environment" (Schein 1991a: 15).

For Schein, organizational culture is "the *pattern of basic assumptions* that a given group has *invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration…*" (1984: 3; emphasis in original). This suggests that organizational beliefs are likely to help organizations resolve problems of internal integration (involving issues of language, boundaries, power and status, intimacy, rewards and punishments, and ideology) and of external adaptation and survival (strategy, goals, means for accomplishing goals, measuring performance, and correction) (Schein 1984: 9-12; 1991b: 247-249).

More importantly, Schein (1984: 9-10) contends that organizational beliefs play a key role in ranking preferences and values when determining organizational core missions, goals, criteria, strategies, and methods.[83] Organizational beliefs are likely to

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[82]. Similarly, Fiol, Hatch, and Golden-Biddle (1998: 56) see organizational culture as "a general system of rules that governs meanings in organizations."

[83]. Schein (1984: 4) gives some examples of simple belief systems or assumptions: "business should be profitable"; "schools should educate"; and "medicine should prolong life."

It would be interesting to compare Schein's hierarchy of elements of culture to the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF: Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith 1993; 1999: 117-166). The basic argument of ACF is that actors within a policy subsystem construct several coalitions based on a set of shared "normative casual beliefs" (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith 1999: 121). A belief system is composed of three levels of beliefs. At the highest level are deep core beliefs that are basic and operate across all policy domains. They are what Schein called assumptions or beliefs. Policy core beliefs, at the intermediate level,

help decide what value(s)[84] organizations assume. Moreover, "[i]f the espoused values of an organization are reasonably congruent with the underlying assumptions, then the articulation of those values into philosophy of operating can be helpful in brining the group together, serving as a source of identity and core mission" (Schein 1985: 17). Values can work to "guide both the ends of a given society (group) and the means by which to accomplish them" (Schein 1981: 64).

Several studies have examined the impact of organizational belief systems on institutional design. For instance, Kostova and Roth (2002: 228) found several patterns of adopting Total Quality Management (TQM) by multinational corporations' subsidiaries across countries, revealing "different levels or degrees of adoption." They demonstrated the importance of internalized beliefs about the value of TQM itself in deciding whether to adopt the practice. Bigelow and Stone (1995) also found that differing administrators' values had varying impacts on how community health care centers responded to the pressure of budget cuts imposed by the National Health Service Corps (NHSC).[85]

Townley's (2002) study illustrates possible clashes between values derived from the institutional environment and preserved by an organization. By a longitudinal analysis of introducing business planning and performance measures into the Cultural Facilities and Historical Resources (CFHR) unit – a division in the Alberta, Canada provincial government, she showed how the unit responded strategically to institutional pressures.

"represent a coalition's basic normative commitments and casual perceptions across an entire policy domain or subsystem" (1999: 121). They are composed of "fundamental value priorities,…basic perceptions concerning the general seriousness of the problem and its principal causes, and strategies for realizing core values within the subsystem…" (1999: 121-122). They are to the ACF what values are to Schein's framework. At the third, lowest level is beliefs in the secondary aspects that are composed of a large set of narrower, operating beliefs, which can be compatible with Schein's visible artifacts.

[84]. Values are "the social principles, goals, and standards held within a culture to have intrinsic worth. They define what the members of an organization care about" (Hatch 1997: 214).

[85]. For instance, Bigelow and Stone (1995) found that the community health care center that emphasized the value of delivering professional medical services showed complete compliance with the institutional pressures for cutbacks, while the one that valued center expansion in line with civic association goals for the community expressed its resistance to them.

On the one hand, business planning and performance measures represent "the substantive rationality and legitimized myths of efficiency, value for money, improved management competence and increased management accountability, and greater control over public expenditure and…an enhanced legitimacy for government" (Townley 2002: 169); on the other, "[m]useums are a differentiated, autonomous value sphere, guided by their own axiological and normative autonomy" (2002: 167). Although CFHR exhibited procedural compliance by adopting certain techniques, it explicitly rejected imitating the private sector model. Similarly, Casile and Davis-Blake (2002) studied how business schools seeking accreditation from the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AASCB) responded to the new, more flexible accreditation standards adopted by AACSB in 1991. They discovered two different factors that drove unaccredited business schools to seek accreditation: the market (economic efficiency) and norms (the logic of appropriateness). Some schools sought accreditation to gain prestige and to attract students. Others pursued accreditation because they had been members of AASCB.

Erich Studer-Ellis's (1995) comparative case study of women's colleges also demonstrated that organizational belief systems played a key role in deciding whether to remain single-sex or to switch to co-education. Smith College, for instance, decided to remain a woman's college, because stakeholders such as students, faculty, and alumnae wanted to continue to promote the value of higher education for young women and because they treated its single-sex status with reverence. Similarly, Dension, Finkler, and Mead (2002), faculty members at the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service at New York University, investigated the effects of Statement No. 34 of the Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB) on the School's MPA curriculum, especially on teaching courses in public budgeting and finance. GASB 34 brought about some changes in the languages and structures of communicating governmental financial information. Because of GASB 34, the MPA program was faced with the decision "whether to teach only pre-GASB 34 rules, GASB rules, or both during the transition period to GASB 34" (Dension, et al. 2002: 141). Faculty members decided to cover pre-GASB 34 concepts in the more advanced courses, based on their belief that "very few of students actually work on financial statements in their first few years on the job…[and]

that it is much more common that their contact with financial management relates to managerial types of issues" (Dension, et al. 2002: 141).

One of the significant aspects of belief systems is that organizational beliefs are associated with organizational identity. Organizational identity scholars in particular tend to relate identity to organizational beliefs. They typically either treat organizational identity and beliefs as the same thing or consider them to be interrelated. For instance, drawing from Schein's hierarchy of culture, Rindova and Schultz (1998: 50) consider an organization's identity at its deepest level to be composed of a set of beliefs: "an internal focus on the beliefs of organizational members."[86] Hatch and Schultz accentuated the influences of beliefs on organizational identity by arguing that an organizational identity is likely to be determined by organizational beliefs "grounded in and justified by cultural assumptions and values" and "formed about the organization by its internal constituencies as they go about their daily work activities" (1997: 361-362). Some scholars add other ingredients. For example, Baron (2002: 3) defines organizational identities as "sets of interrelated rules, assumptions, beliefs, and premises that lead to prescribed patterns of behavior…" Based on Prahaland and Bettis's study of diversified firms, Fiol and Huff argue that an organizational identity is a set of "beliefs, theories, and propositions of organizational members [that] can eventually gel into an organization-wide 'dominant logic'…" (1992: 278).[87]

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[86]. Albert and Whetten (1985) also define organizational identity as comprising the members' shared beliefs about what is central, distinctive, and enduring in their organizations. For them, organizational identity means what organizational members believe to be the organization's character. Similarly, Dutton and Penner define an organizational identity as "the collective beliefs that individuals share about what is distinct, unique and central about the organization" (1993: 96). They argue that such shared beliefs are sustained by formal and informal socialization and institutionalization processes. Stimert, et al. also note that "[an] identity represents the shared beliefs that managers hold about their organizations" (1998: 87).

[87]. In contrast to these scholars' definitions of organizational identity as being closely related to organizational beliefs, Ashforth and Mael contend that organizational identity is not necessarily consistent with organizational beliefs. By using the concepts of identification ["self in terms of social categories (I am)"] and internalization ["the incorporation of values, attitudes, and so forth within the self as guiding principles (I believe)"], they argue that "although certain values and attitudes typically are associated

Here, I hypothesize that organizational belief systems reflecting organizational identities may affect institutional design in ways that guide responses to the institutional environment. Organizations are apt to select a specific form of practice over others based on their belief systems, which may help explain institutional diversity.

Identity Relationship as an Organizational Response Mechanism

To account for the differences in institutional design among organizations, I have presented several components: multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. Although such factors may be necessary for explaining differences in institutional design among organizations, they are not sufficient to account for *how* such differences occur. If varying institutional designs can be considered to be consequences of organizational responses to the three contexts, plausible mechanisms also must be proposed to suggest how such responses might be made. In my view, the relationships among the various factors can be regarded as organizational endeavors to create, maintain, and change the identity (ies) of institutions in interactions with the three contexts. I argue that identities exist at several levels of analysis (here, field, populations, and organizations) and that each identity has a specific impact on institutional designs; the relationships between the three contexts and institutional design are nothing less than identity relationships. This section discusses several definitions of identity, Selznick's organizational character-formation, and the interplay among choice, sensemaking, and identity in organizational decision-making situations, to provide an explanatory apparatus for the overarching relationships between the three contexts and institutional design.

Concepts of Organizational Identity

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with members of a given social category, acceptance of the category as a definition of self does not necessarily mean acceptance of those values and attitudes" (1989: 22).

Organizations have distinctive identities that articulate who or what they are.[88] These identities may be evident in organizational visions, directions, goals, missions, and values.[89] Organizational identities can be defined by what an organization is doing and what it cares about (Hatch & Schultz 1997: 360). I contend that organizational identity offers a lens through which to view organizational behavior that emphasizes the notion of self in the study of organizations.

Although a tremendous amount of research on organizational identity appeared in the 1990s, its study has a long history. In the 1940s and 1950s, for example, Selznick (1984) investigated organizational efforts at identity construction[90] in interactions with external environments in his study of the TVA. He argued that organizations were likely to take on distinctive characters by institutionalizing particular forms, strategies, and processes in interactions with external forces. Later, his idea of organizational character-formation had impact on researchers in organizational identity (e.g., Albert & Whetten 1985) as well as in institutional analysis (e.g., Brunsson 1989; Clark 1970).

In the 1960s and 1970s, organizational identification had been the main subject in using identity to account for individual behavior by employing social identity theory (e.g., Goffman 1973). This effort "relate[d] individual identity to group identity, particularly

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[88]. This kind of definition emphasizes identity as being socially constructed through self-classification and self-enumeration. Pedersen and Dobbin (1997: 437) claim that an organization becomes distinctive through these processes.

Similarly, Weick notes that "[an organization as a s]ocial structure implies a generic self, an interchangeable part – as filler of roles and follower of rules – but not concrete, individualized selves. The 'relation to subject,' then, at this level is categorical and abstract" (1995: 71).

[89]. Sevón points out that "[s]tatements of ideology, management philosophy, culture, and rituals may be chosen in the rhetoric of an organization as a strategy to define its uniqueness" (1996: 57).

[90]. The construction of identity might be described in the following way: "[t]he character of a store, just like the character of an individual, is determined by what it does, but obviously what it does depends on the limits of its own resources, how it fits into the already established community, and how it comes to be regarded by the general public. All of this is a mutually interacting complex, involving growth, development, and fortuitous circumstances as well as conscious planned effort" (Moore 1954: cited in Selznick 1984: 54).

through the idea of 'identification'" (Caldas & Wood 1998).[91] Such work emphasized the relationships between individual loyalties or commitments and feelings of belongingness to groups or organizations (Simon 1976: 198-219).[92]

Since Albert and Whetten's article, "Organizational Identity" (1985), the focus of identity study has returned to organizations by treating them as entities that have central characters. This article served to launch a new phase of research that seriously addressed identity issues in studying organizations. Since then, the study of organizational identity has flourished, appearing in areas including organizational culture (e.g., Fiol, Hatch, & Golden-Biddle 1998; Hatch 1993; Hatch & Schultz 1997; 2002),[93] strategy (e.g., Dutton & Penner 1993; Irrmann 2002; Stimert, et al. 1998; Salgado & Rabadán 2002),[94] and control (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott 2002; Barney 1998; Doolin 2002).[95]

Identity is "an attribute which is defined internally or externally to the entity that holds it" (Caldas & Wood 1997: 3). It defines a self and involves self-consciousness about and self-reflection of who and what the self is. Identity relies on an entity's deepest

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[91]. For example, "*a person identifies himself with a group when, in making a decision, he evaluates the several alternatives of choice in terms of their consequences for the specified group*" (Simon 1976: 205; emphasis in original).

[92]. For instance, individuals are more likely to devote their commitments to an organization when their values, goals, or interests are consistent with the organization's.

[93]. Hatch and Schultz emphasize the culturally embedded aspect of organizational identity. They conceive of organizational culture as providing a symbolic context within which organizational identity is formed and interpreted. They state: "Culture is not another variable to be manipulated, but rather it forms the context within which identity is established, maintained and changed and corporate attempts to manipulate and use it are interpreted, assessed and ultimately accepted, altered or rejected" (1997: 363).

Similarly, Fiol, Hatch and Golden-Biddle maintain that organizational culture offers a specific context within which "[organizational] identity is shaped, reshaped, negotiated, changed, decayed…" (1998: 72).

[94]. Rindova and Schultz's basic view is that organizational identity is "strategically planned and operationally applied internal and external self-representation" (1998: 48). Irrmann (2002: 14) also notes that "different identities can be enacted according to the particular goals" that an organization seeks to accomplish.

[95]. Barney points out that an organizational identity can serve as "a solution to an organizational control problem in a large, diversified corporation" (1998: 108).

insight into and understanding of itself. Drawing from Erickson's (1968; 1980) individual identity theory, Albert and Whetten (1985) proposed the three attributes used in defining organizational identity(ies): centrality, distinctiveness, and endurance. An organizational identity is defined depending on organizational members' collective perceptions of what is and is not central the essence of organization, what is similar or is distinct when compared with other organizations, and what is continuous over time (Bouchikhi, et al. 1998).[96] Similarly, Gioia (1998: 19) argues:

> [Just like individuals, organizations] construct themselves as having some set of essential characteristics that they cite as defining their self-concepts, and that they engage in interpretations and practices intended to affirm the continuity of those self-concepts over time and place…[they] tend to fixate on their distinctiveness, to emphasize their distinctiveness vis-à-vis others. They not only see themselves as distinct but also act as if they are distinct.

Usually, research on identity has applied the concept of individual identity to the group (e.g., Ashforth & Mael 1989; Dutton & Dukerich 1991; Gioia & Thomas 1996; Tajfel 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1985) and the organizational (e.g., Albert & Whetten 1985; Elsbach & Kramer 1996: Hatch & Schultz 1997; 2002)[97] levels of analysis. Based on the notion that identities exist at various levels, more recent research has begun to employ a multi-level approach to examine how organizational identity is constructed, looking at the

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[96]. Gioia and Thomas (1996) criticized Albert and Whetten's conceptualization of organizational identity, asserting that the distinctiveness and endurance criteria for organizational identity were problematic in that they did not carefully take into account the situation of modern organizations: they face continuous changes and frequently imitate other organizations. Similarly, Bouchikhi, et al. (1998: 45) noted that the endurance criterion is likely to be tempered when change occurs.

According to Bouchikhi, et al. (1998), organizational identity researchers armed with tools of postmodernism such as deconstruction and indeterminacy have severely criticized the centrality and endurance of identity. Identity is likely to shift with the decentering of the subject and when it is subjected to continuing deconstruction and reconstruction. The distinctiveness of identity is the only attribute to be preserved in this intellectual stream, which emphasizes diversity, differences, and fragmentation (Bouchikhi et al. 1998; Gioia 1998).

In spite of such limitations, Gioia (1998) maintains that these criteria are useful in defining organizational identity(ies) by providing certain dimensions to analyze.

[97]. In particular, identity studies at the organizational level have started considering relationships with the environment.

individual, group, organization, population, and field levels (e.g., Fiol 2002; Foreman & Whetten 2002). In this study, I discuss identity at multiple levels, assuming that identities at different levels are closely related to one another, although they exist separately.

Selznick's Organizational Character Formation

An institutional design is an ongoing process of constructing and maintaining institutional identity(ies). From this perspective, identity reflects the collective efforts of organizational members to construct and maintain common understandings of "who we are." It will be recalled that an institution is a set of rules, requirements, logics, beliefs, norms, and values that govern organizational behavior; it includes specific organizational practices, structures, and procedures. I argue that institutionalized structures, procedures, and practices are likely to have their own distinctive identities that are reflected in institutional components and structures.

Both institutional (e.g., Sahlin-Andersson 1996; Sevón 1996) and organizational identity research (e.g., Bell, Taylor, & Thorpe 2002; Pedersen & Dobbin 1997) have suggested that organizations are likely to design institutions in ways that display their distinctive identities. Yet, few studies have discussed how institutions in organizations come to be equipped with distinctive identities and how and why organizations are likely to fashion and sustain such institutional identities.[98] To explore these issues, I revisit Selznick's (1966; 1984; 1996) idea of organizational character-formation.

According to Selznick (1992: 233), organizations differ in their distinctively institutionalized ways of conducting social functions. He observes that they are "stamped by distinctive ways of making decisions or by peculiar commitments to aims, methods, or clienteles" (Selznick 1984: 138). To explore why and how organizations differ, Selznick (1966; 1984; 1992; 1996) plausibly accounts for organizational variations in institutional design. In particular, his discussion of organizational character-formation (Selznick 1984: 38-57) seems to be relevant to providing a systemic analysis of institutional differences.

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[98]. It is often difficult to draw a clear line between organizational and institutional identities. It is reasonable to see institutional identities as being parts of and affected by organizational identities. It may well be logical to expect consistency between the two identities.

Selznick argues that organizations strive to build distinctive institutional identities in order to increase the chances of organizational survival (1984: 63).[99] As an institution takes on a special character, it comes to be "peculiarly competent (or incompetent) to do a particular kind of work" (1984: 139). For him, such a distinctive identity seems likely to enhance the possibilities of survival by appealing to a specific segment of environment.

How then do organizations construct distinctive institutional identities? Selznick (1966) showed how the TVA established a distinctive set of institutional components and structures – that is, an "institutional identity." Again, the Authority's grass-roots policy was implemented under the catchphrase, "close to the people" – an institutional ideology of decentralization. This policy was the TVA's adaptive strategy (institution) that resulted in institutionalizing a distinctive identity in responding to external constituencies. With this phrase, the Agency brought local interests to the bargaining table and reflected those interests through formal and informal co-optation.

From the TVA case study, Selznick (1984: 38-64) suggests how an organization constructs and sustains a distinctive identity through organizational character-formation. He depicts this character-formation as an ongoing process of institutionalizing distinctive characters in responding to external forces. Organizations often confront the need to make critical decisions, which may involve character-defining choices that can determine "the nature of the enterprise – its distinctive aims, methods, and role in the community" (Selznick 1984: 55). Such choices are likely to involve selecting a particular value(s) over others. Organizations, then, are apt to continuously institutionalize the selected value(s).

Selznick evidently views institutionalization as a process of internalizing a unique organizational character in ways that infuse distinctive values. He maintains that "[t]his infusion produces a distinct identity for the organization" (Selznick 1984: 40). Such a constructed institutional identity is an expected product of organizational experience, and the identity is intimately related to "organizational self-definition, [self-construction] and self-reconstruction" (1984: 40). The identity in turn is apt to serve as "an order approach" for sensemaking by providing "a way of responding to the world consistently" (1984: 17-

[99]. I think that this is compatible with the argument in resource-based theory that the accumulation of valuable resources and capabilities may promote organizational survival.

18). [100] For Selznick, this approach offers an outlook, a direction, or an orientation that is likely to work as a standard in decision-making situations. Through organizational efforts to define and maintain institutional identity, he contends that organizations come to be equipped with distinctive competence. A key implication is that organizations are apt to undertake different courses of action in coping with varying contexts by institutionalizing particular forms with distinctive *identities*.

Choice, Sensemaking, and Identity

Some institutional scholars have employed Selznick's ideas about organizational character-formation and identity-defining choices (e.g., Brunsson 1989; Goodstein 1994; Oliver 1988; 1991; Scott 1991; 2001). They have been attentive to the iterative process of organizational choice, sensemaking, and identities. Organizational identity theorists also claim both that organizational identity affects organizational behavior, including choices of strategy, form, process, procedure, and structure and that organizational behavior helps shape identity (e.g., Albert 1998; Bouchikhi, et al. 1998). In this sub-section, I discuss how identity, choice, and sensemaking are related to institutional design.

Organizational Choice

As discussed previously, one of the prominent features of recent institutional research is that it frequently employs a strategic choice perspective[101] that organizations

[100]. This is the self-maintenance activity of organizations that can be sustained by continuously exercising the particular way of thinking and deciding in interactions with the environment: "a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of" institution in relationships with the environment (Selznick 1984: 21).

[101]. One of the critical issues in introducing the strategic choice perspective into institutional analysis is whether organizations simply choose from among pre-existing packages of frameworks or engage in designing institutions. For instance, Scott pointed out that "while organizational participants are often better described as choosing rather than designing the governance systems under which they operate, some choices of governance systems and their diverse components will be better suited to managing a given organization's activities than will others" (1994a: 77). In contrast, Oliver (1988: 546) claims that organizations possess considerable discretion over the design of their own structures. It is logical to suppose that organizations choose among the possible options within the context of external constraints (Hoffman 1999: 351; Oliver 1991: 149). But this does not necessarily mean that organizations cannot design their own institutions.

are likely to have a variety of choices[102] and capable of designing their own institutional components and structures in responding to environmental forces (Oliver 1988; 1991; Goodstein 1994: Scott 1994). Here, I discuss two kinds of choices particularly relevant to institutional design. First, organizations choose niches that are favorable to their own institutional identities. They choose institutional logics at the field level (Aldrich & Fiol 1994; Goodstein 1994; Rao, et al. 2000), organizational positions at the population level (Oliver 1988; 1991; 1997a), and organizational belief systems at the organizational level (Dutton, et al. 1994; Rindova & Schultz 1998; Sevón 1996).

Second, in addition to choosing niches at each level, organizations may have to decide to what extent they will reflect the beliefs, logics, ideas, and expectations of their selected niches. For example, an organization may have to decide whether it will adopt an institutional logic in its entirety or only some parts of it. Similarly, if an organization faces conflicting demands and expectations,[103] it must select which combinations to stress.

Sensemaking

Work that takes a strategic choice perspective typically stresses the importance of organizational perceptions and interpretations of environmental contexts (e.g., Dutton &

As in the case of the law, a model or a framework that an organization chooses does not deal with every detail of institutional design. Thus, organizations are likely to enjoy a considerable amount of discretion in designing their institutions.

[102]. For instance, "[t]he choices available to organizations may range, at modest pole, from deciding what types of insurance coverage to supply employees to, at the extreme, selecting the type of institutional environment with which to connect" (Scott 1991: 170).

[103]. Organizations are likely to confront various kinds of inconsistency and conflict in ideas, logics, beliefs, demands and expectations; between competing institutional logics; and coming from different organizational positions. When an organization must deal with multiple institutional logics provided by the institutional environment, for example, it may choose an institutional logic that is consistent with its norms. Or, organizations may decide to simultaneously satisfy conflicting demands and expectations by selectively adopting some components from each when they do not want to be overwhelmed by certain logic. Presumably, the real challenge to organizations may come from inconsistencies between institutional logics and organizational belief systems and between organizational positions and belief systems in institutional designs, which may cause the transformation and wholesale change in ways of creating a new organizational identity.

Dukerich 1991; Oliver 1998; 1991; Zilber 2002). As already indicated, organizations do not blindly respond to external forces; instead, they attempt to interpret and make sense of external demands and expectations so that they can select among possible alternatives, asking questions like the following:

> Does this apply to us? Who says so? Is this something to which we should respond? What might we do about it? Who else become occasions for interpretations and initiate sense-making processes? (Scott 2001: 169).

This suggests that organizations are likely to make strategic choices based on perceptions of feasibility and appropriateness developed from their interpretation and sensemaking[104] of such demands and expectations.[105]

Interplay among Choice, Sensemaking, and Identity

Choice, sensemaking, and identity are closely related to one another. Here, I examine such relationships to account for how institutional identities are constructed and maintained. As already discussed, according to Selznick (1984), critical choices made by organizations on the basis of their interpretations of external forces are apt to engender (a) distinctive institutional identity(ies). Similarly, Barney, et al.(1998) contend that an institutional identity depends on how organizations make sense of not only themselves but also their environments and their situations. Via this process, an institutional identity is constructed. In this sense, an institutional identity is a product of organizational choice and sensemaking (Albert & Whetten 1985; Selznick 1984; Weick 1995).

Such a constructed institutional identity, in turn, is likely to affect organizational choices by serving as an organizational mind-set in decision-making (Dutton & Penner 1993; Goll & Sambharya 1995; Rindova & Fombrun 1998; Stimert, et al. 1998; Weick

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[104]. Weick notes that "[h]ow they construct what they construct, why, and with what effects are the central questions for people interested in sensemaking" (1995: 4). He distinguishes "everyday" from organizational sensemaking by claiming that the latter is sensemaking through generic subjectivity. He also argues that "[i]nteractions that attempt to manage uncertainty are a mixture of the intersubjective and the generic subjective, which is something of a hallmark of organizational sensemaking in general" (1995: 71).

[105]. At the extremes, for instance, both acceptance and rejection of institutional requirements are organizational choices based on their interpretations and sensemaking.

1995).[106] That is, institutional identity offers guidance when organizations make sense of themselves, their environments, and their situations; it helps prioritize the options that organizations select among by providing standards; it helps assess the relevance[107] and impact of external demands and expectations; and it helps decide which options should be selected by providing an organization with a sense of direction in choosing.

Via these processes, choice, sensemaking, and identity are tightly coupled through the processes of identity construction and maintenance (Gioia & Thomas 1996; Selznick 1984; Weick 1995).[108] Figure 3-1 portrays how choice, sensemaking, and identity are interconnected.

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[106]. Institutional identity offers a cognitive map for sensemaking in organizational choices. Fiol and Huff (1992) suggested three cognitive submaps that "defin[e] major features of the cognitive terrain" 278) and that "provide a tool kit for managers who must make sense of ambiguous and changing environmental stimuli" (280): identity, categorization, and, casual and argument. In their view, identity submaps serve as the building blocks of the cognitive map, as self-references to use other submaps, and as filters for making sense of the environments. Categorization submaps, they maintain, are used for "identify[ing] similarities and differences among groups of competitors" (279) by framing, structuring, and making sense of events and situations one's surroundings. The last submaps are causality and argument utilized to make connections between events and outcomes and to assess such outcomes based on inputs drawn from identity and categorization submaps.

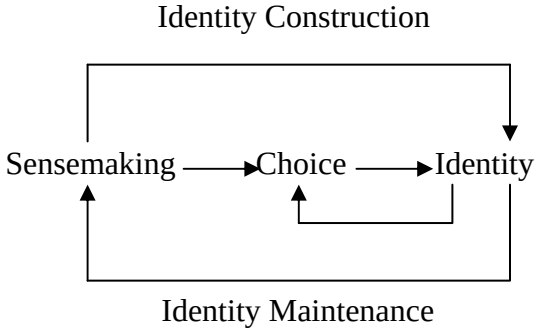
Similarly, Goll and Sambharya contend that such a constructed identity tends to offer a dominant logic that is "a shared cognitive map of learned problem-solving behavior that develops as a function of the operant conditioning, paradigms, cognitive biases, and pattern-recognition processes" (1995: 827).

As Weick notes, it is needless to say that an organization cannot make sense without some sense of identity, which is likely to affect its choices. For him, an organizational identity is no other than a "generic subjectivity…developed through processes of arguing, expecting, committing, and manipulating…These processes produce roles that create interchangeability, and they produce arguments, expectations, justifications, and objects that become common premises for action" (1995: 170).

[107]. In addition to helping organizations assess the relevance of external demands and expectations, institutional identity enables organizations to "determine what parts of the environment are seen as relevant" (Sahlin-Andersson 1996: 73).

[108]. Weick listed identity construction as one of the seven properties of sensemaking: "[i]dentities are constituted out of the process of interaction…Whenever I define self, I define 'it,' but to define it is also to define self. Once I know who I am then [I know] what is out there. But the direction of causality flows just as often from the situation to a

Figure 3-1 Identity Construction and Maintenance: Choice, Sensemaking, and Identity



Constructing a Comprehensive Conceptual Framework: Integration of Old Institutionalism and Recent Works in New Institutionalism

Institutional theorists have adopted differing approaches to explain organizational diversity "by closer attentiveness to the varying sources of legitimacy, the levels at which they operate, the institutional elements that they target, and the environments that contextualize their effects" (Ruef & Scott 1998: 898). In the previous chapter, I explored three different approaches to institutional analysis that suggested plausible accounts of organizational differences in institutional design: Selznick's old institutionalism and the external and internal approaches of new institutionalism.

Here, I integrate these approaches, not only by including internal and external factors (integrating the internal and external approaches) but also by considering the localized in addition to the institutional environment (combining the old institutionalism and the external approach in new institutionalism).

As Figure 3-2 shows, Selznick's old institutionalism focuses on the ways that organizations respond to their local environments. In this work, an institution is assumed to be inside organizations, and it is used as a dependent variable. Meanwhile, the external approach concentrates on examining the influences of the institutional environment on organizations. In this approach, an institution is conceived as being outside organizations; it is an independent variable.

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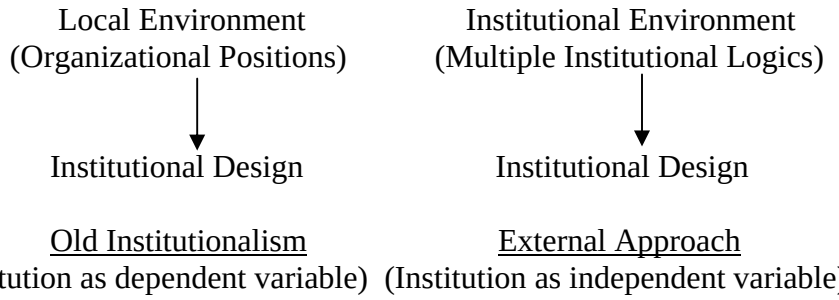
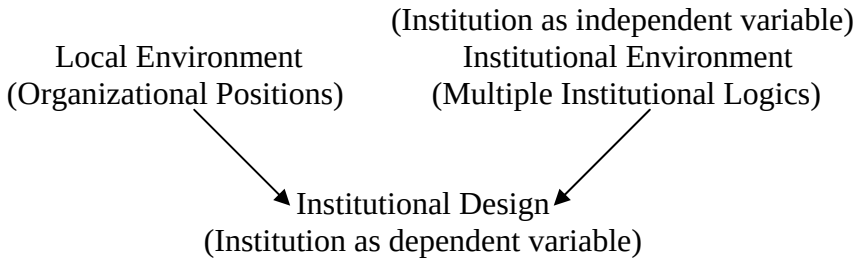
definition of self as it does the other way. And this is why the establishment and maintenance of identity is a core preoccupation in sensemaking…" (1995: 20).

Figure 3-2 Old and External Institutional Approaches



Both the early studies and the external approach (the macroinstitutionalists) have had limited success in fully accounting for organizational variation, for they have tended to focus only on the institutional environment. For that reason, I extend the conception of an organizational environment by adding the factor of organizational position. I view an organizational environment as being composed of both the institutional and the localized environments by integrating the old and the external institutional approaches. Thus, an organizational environment in the integrated framework consists of both the institutional environment, which confronts organizations with multiple institutional logics and has relatively broader influence, and the local environment, which is relatively specific and determined by where an organization is located in the field. (See Figure 3-3.)

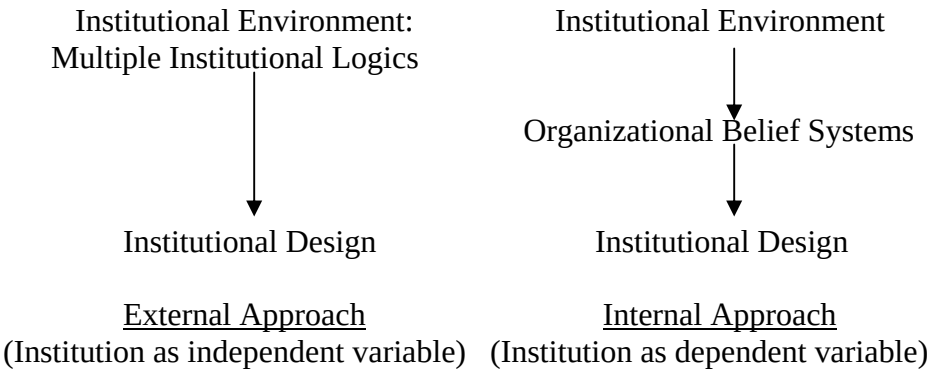
Figure 3-3 Integration of Old and External Institutional Approaches



In sociological new institutionalism, the external and internal approaches explain organizational heterogeneity somewhat differently. The key difference is that the former stresses the characteristics of the external institutional environment, “treat[s] institutional factors as independent variables and examine[s] their consequences within organizations”

(Scott 1994b: 85); the latter stresses such factors as organizational belief systems and the resulting internal dynamics. (See Figure 3-4.)

Figure 3-4 External and Internal Approaches



The conceptual framework includes institutions at the organizational field and the organizational levels of analysis. The institutions in the field constitute an institutional environment at this level and are treated as independent variables (following the external approach). In addition, institutions reside in organizations; they create institutions to cope with both social and their own needs. Such institutions are subject to being affected by the institutions at higher levels and are treated as dependent variables (as in the internal approach). The analytical focus is on the relationships between institutions in a field (the independent variable) and those in organizations (the dependent variable). As indicated earlier, institutional differences cannot be adequately explained by probing either external or internal factors alone. Therefore, the conceptual framework includes both an external institutional variable (multiple institutional logics) and an internal organizational factor (organizational belief systems). (See Figure 3-5.)

The building blocks of the framework, then, include multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. These three components are conceived as divergent forces that may cause organizational differences in institutional design. The three may be seen as niches that embed distinctive identities at each level, providing organizations with varying contexts for institutional designs.

Figure 3-5 External and Internal Approaches

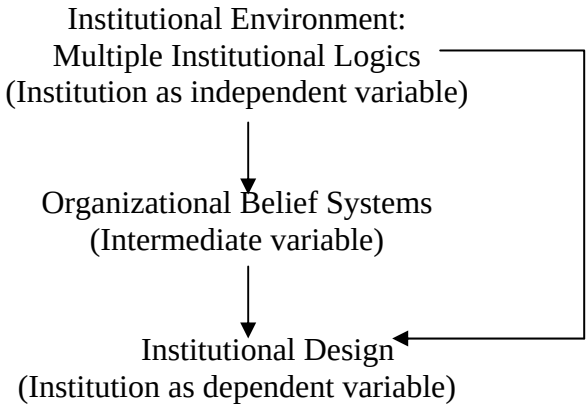
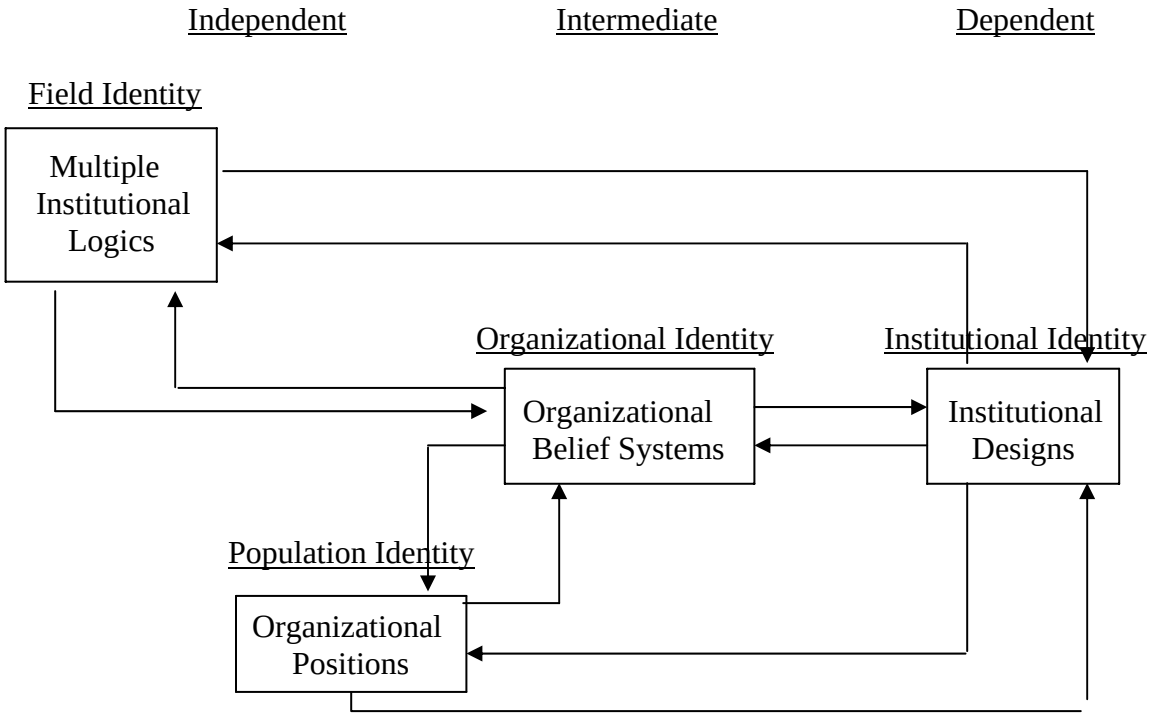


Figure 3-6 Conceptual Framework for Explaining Differences in Institutional Design



I argued that, in designing institutions, organizations are likely to choose among the ideas, beliefs, logics, or expectations provided by institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. All organizational choices in responding to the contextual factors are likely to affect the designs of their institutions in ways that push them to reflect certain aspects of selected niches. In this sense, different institutional

designs are the consequences of differing organizational choices in constructing and sustaining distinctive institutional identities in pursuit of competitive advantage.

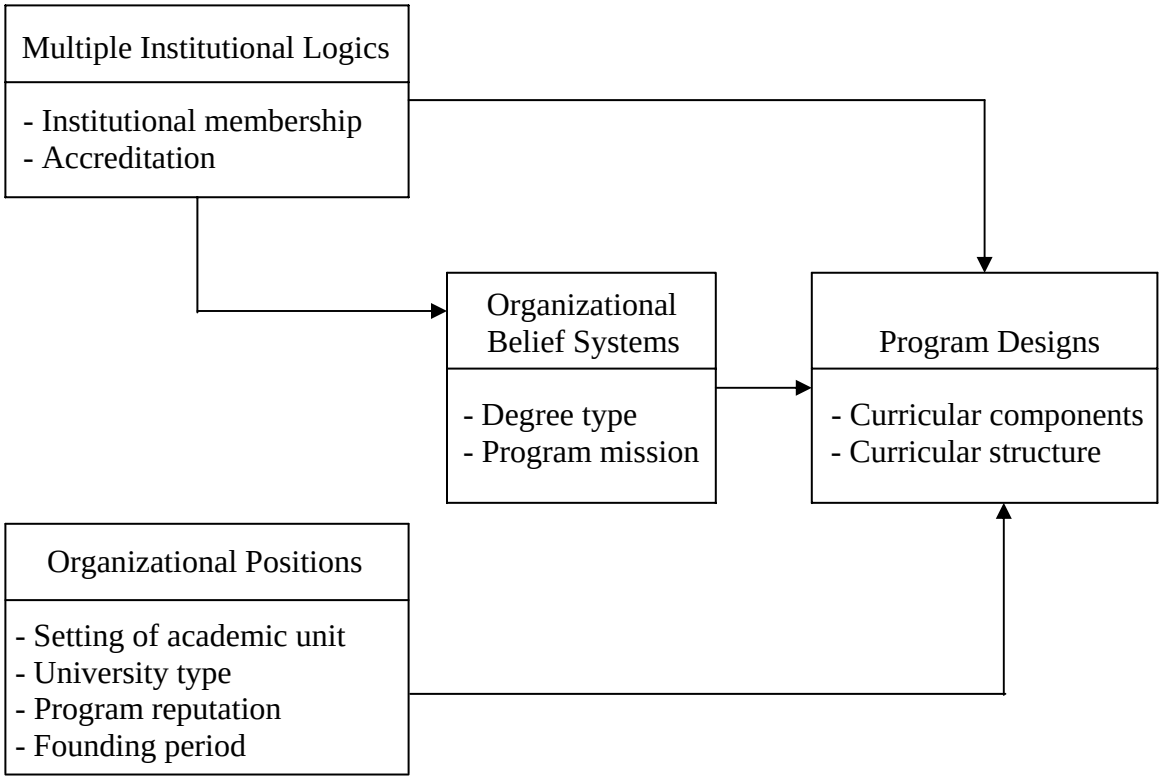
Figure 3-6 contains the full conceptual framework for explaining variations in institutional design. In the following chapter, to explore the utility of the framework, I will apply it to examining differences in the design of masters' programs in public affairs.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN

In Chapter Three, I introduced a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional design among organizations in an organizational field. To explore the utility of the framework, I apply it to investigating differences in the design of masters' programs in public affairs. Figure 4-1 shows how the conceptual framework was converted so that it could be examined empirically.

Figure 4-1 Empirical Framework for Explaining Differences in Program Design



As discussed previously, I see a professional master's degree program in public affairs as an (educational) institution. Currently, a number of universities offer masters' programs in public affairs that have differing designs. This chapter discusses how I went about exploring these differences. First, I describe the major variables and indicators used. Then, I suggest several propositions and hypotheses based on the relationships included

in the empirical framework. In addition, I discuss the unit and levels of analysis focused upon, using a multilevel approach to probe the relationships at several levels of analysis, ranging from the program to the organizational field. Finally, I delineate the data sources relied upon and note several limitations of the study.

Variables, Propositions, and Hypotheses

Masters' programs in the field of public affairs often are designed with different curricular components and structures. To account for such differences in program design (the ultimate dependent variable), the analysis stresses three contextual factors. The first factor, multiple institutional logics, is tapped by institutional membership in NASPAA or APPAM and by accreditation status. Second, organizational positions are examined using an academic unit's setting (e.g., a department of political science, a school of public affairs), the type of university in which the unit is located, program reputation, and the time a program was first founded. The third factor, organizational belief systems, is measured by degree type and program mission.

Dependent Variable: Program Design

A program's design is a key in exploring program identity as "an embodiment and expression of distinctiveness" (Clark 1970: 9). A program may not be distinctive unless it offers special courses, unusual degree requirements, or particular areas of concentration (Clark 1970: 248). Indeed, a variety of academic units offer masters' programs designed in different manners by stressing distinctive aspects, striving to convince insiders and outsiders that the programs are distinctive in spite of isomorphic pressures. Such efforts enable them to make their programs more attractive to potential students, to gain greater support from stakeholders, and to induce more commitment from members of the academic units housing them, including students, professors, and administrative staff. Here, program design is the *dependent variable*, and special attention is paid to two dimensions: curricular components and structures.

Curricular Components

According to the NASPAA Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs in Public Affairs, Policy, and Administration,[109] the curriculum of a program may be composed of such components as common, additional, and internship courses "to produce professionals capable of intelligent, creative analysis and communication, and action in public service" (NASPAA2: 4). In this study, I focus on core and additional curricular components.

Although programs may vary in the number of courses (or credit hours), they all offer some required courses labeled "core."[110] Usually, core courses are designed to deliver basic knowledge for understanding public affairs to students. They typically are aimed at "enhanc[ing] the student's values, knowledge, and skills to act ethically and effectively" (NASPAA2: 4).

Previous works (e.g., Breaux, et al. 2003; Cleary 1990; Roeder & Whitaker 1993) measured core curricular components in different ways depending on the purposes of the analysis. Cleary (1990), for example, concentrated on examining program characteristics, while Breaux, et al. (2003) and Roeder and Whitaker (1993) focused on investigating the influence of NASPAA accreditation on programs.

First, Cleary (1990) categorized core courses using course titles and descriptions from such materials as catalogs, bulletins, and handbooks to investigate 175 (out of 215) NASPAA-affiliated programs. He identified nine core courses as being most common,[111] and then he reduced these to an "inner core": public administration, research methods, public finance, policy analysis, personnel, and political institutions and processes.

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[109]. Hereafter, the term "NASPAA accreditation standards" will be used for referring to the NASPAA Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs in Public Affairs, Policy, and Administration.

[110]. Some academic units call "core" courses foundation, common, or required courses.

[111]. Public administration, administrative theory, or administrative behavior; research methods or quantitative analysis in public administration; public finance, financial management, or governmental budgeting; policy analysis or policymaking and administration; personnel administration or human resources management; American politics and administration; economics or economics and public policy; information system or computer science; and legal processes.

Roeder and Whitaker (1993) examined the core curricular components of over 80 NASPAA-accredited programs, utilizing the Self-Study Reports that programs submitted between 1983 and 1989. By following the old NASPAA core curricular coverage,[112] they categorized core components into seven areas: techniques of analysis, organization and management, political institutions, financial administration, economic institutions, legal institutions, and social institutions. They determined the percentage of core credit hours assigned to required curricular components. Then, factor analysis of these components generated an institutional-management and an analytical factor.

Breaux, et al. (2003) divided core curriculum components into professional skills and environmental factors derived from the venerable but still controversial idea of a dichotomy between politics and public administration. They assigned points ranging from 1 to 5 depending on the degree of emphasis that each core course placed on professional skills rather than on "environmental factors" (i.e., the external contexts in which public administrators work).

These three studies had limitations in measuring the components of the core curriculum. For instance, Roeder and Whitaker argued that Cleary committed a critical mistake by "equat[ing] a curriculum component to a course" (1993: 516). They noted that "[a] component can be covered by one course, by part of one course, or by parts of several courses" according to the NASPAA accreditation standard. In my view, they overlooked, however, that Cleary was less interested in examining the influence of the NASPAA accreditation standard on core curricular components than in illuminating various program characteristics. Cleary probably was correct to point out that there were some "borderline" cases in assigning courses to subject areas. In spite of his efforts to provide the decision rules that he applied in such cases, however, he gave no information about how he handled either two similar courses (e.g., public finance and governmental budgeting) or course sequences (e.g., research design I and II). Similarly, Breaux, et al. (2003: 262) criticized Roeder and Whitaker's measurement of core components for

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[112]. Political and legal institutions and processes, economic and social institutions and processes, organizations and management concepts, including human resource administration, concepts and techniques of financial administration, and techniques of analysis, including quantitative, economic, and statistical methods.

failing to provide information about the content of the material covered. Yet, these two latter works also were limited in accounting for the diversity of core components, because they too simplified the components by reducing them to one dimension (e.g., Roeder and Whitaker: institutional-management versus analytical; Breaux, et al: professional skills versus public administration environmental context). More importantly, none of the three studies gave detailed information about the scope of core curricula, even though core curricula of some programs were composed of certain combinations of foundation, core, and subcore courses.[113] Furthermore, all three failed to discuss how they categorized courses on particular level(s) of government (the "where"), since they mainly focused on the subjects of core courses (the "what").

For this study, after carefully reviewing course titles and descriptions, I grouped core courses into twenty categories and then reduced them to five major areas: public administration, public management, public policy, specific levels of government, and methods. (See Table 4-1.)[114]

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[113]. For instance, the Graduate School of International Policy Studies at the Monterey Institute (GSPIS) requires students to take GSIPS core courses before taking MPA core courses. In addition to courses labeled "core," some programs offer several courses called "foundation" courses, which must be taken before major core courses other than prerequisites (e.g., Policy Science Graduate Program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County) or offer classes labeled "subcore," which are to be taken after core courses (e.g., Department of Political Science at California State University, Fresno). For example, the School of Policy, Planning, and Development at the University of Southern California offers some courses named "management competencies" that cover organizational behavior, finance, and analytical methods. Here, all such courses are included in the category "core curriculum."

[114]. I conducted factor analysis to reduce the twenty categories as Roeder and Whitaker did, but I could not generate interpretable results. Instead, I resorted to using the five course areas, based on my reading of the public affairs research literature.

Table 4-1 Areas and Categories of Core Courses

Areas of Core Courses	Categories of Core Courses
Public administration	❑ General (introductory) public administration ❑ Administrative ethics ❑ Administrative law ❑ Public administration environment
Public management	❑ Public management ❑ Organization theory & behavior ❑ Public finance & budgeting ❑ Public personnel ❑ Information management
Public policy	❑ General (introductory) public policy ❑ Economics ❑ Policy process ❑ Policy analysis ❑ Program evaluation
Specific level(s) of government	❑ U.S. state and local government ❑ Urban studies ❑ Intergovernmental relations ❑ International (comparative) administration
Methods	❑ Research methods ❑ Managerial/analytical techniques, tools, skills

Two factors led to my decision to focus on the proportion of credit hours rather than the number of courses. First, credit hours may be a better indicator when dealing with courses that cover more than one subject area. Second, Roeder and Whitaker argue that "percentage allocations are a ranking of the importance of competencies for professional MPA education" (1993: 520). In order to examine why some programs stress particular core courses by allotting more credit hours in their core curricula, I assigned credit hours to each course categorized as "core,"[115] added these credit hours in

[115]. Although there is no exact "one-to-one correspondence between the content of a single course and a single curriculum component" (Roeder & Whitaker 1993: 516), I did not see any major differences between titles and subjects of courses. Instead, I found that some courses covered more than one subject as Roeder & Whitaker (1993) strongly argued. In these cases, I assigned credit hours equally to each subject covered by dividing the original credit hours by the number of subjects covered. For example, if a program offered a resource management course (3 credit hours) that included both human relations and financial management, I gave 1.5 credit hours each to public personnel and public finance and budgeting. As the chapter notes later, however, because neither the course

each area, and divided the hours of each area by the total core credit hours. The core curricular components were measured by the proportions of required core credit hours in public administration, in public management, in public policy, in specific levels of government, and in methods courses.[116]

Curricular Structure

Usually, masters' programs consist of combinations of core, additional, and exit curricular components. As noted above, I included "foundation" and "subcore" courses in the core curricular category. Beyond examining core curricula, few studies have looked at the additional and exit curricula. Academic units provide "additional" curricular courses to provide students with deeper and more specialized knowledge or skills in particular areas. They offer elective, concentration, track (or option) [117] courses, or some

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syllabi nor how courses actually were taught was examined, the study cannot make definitive statements about course content.

[116]. These core curricular components were measured as follows:

- Proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses: the number of core credit hours in public administration courses / the number of total credit hours in the core curriculum * 100
- Proportion of core credit hours in public management courses: the number of core credit hours in public management courses / the number of total credit hours in the core curriculum * 100
- Proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses: the number of core credit hours in public policy courses / the number of total credit hours of in the core curriculum * 100
- Proportion of core credit hours in courses focusing on specific level(s) of government: the number of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government / the number of total credit hours in the core curriculum *100
- Proportion of core credit hours in methods courses: the number of core credit hours in methods courses / the number of total credit hours in the core curriculum * 100

[117]. For instance, the School of Public Administration & Policy at the University of Arizona requires students to take one of two "skill track" (management and policy) courses before taking concentration or elective courses. Similarly, the LaFollette School of Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Madison requires students to take at least four courses in either the public policy analysis or the public management and administration track to enable them to gain specialized knowledge and skills in one of the two major branches of public affairs.

combination in the additional curricular category. In particular, a series of concentration courses often is aimed at enhancing students' career potential. Lastly, academic units may require students, after they have finished coursework, to complete some combination of exit components, including internships, research projects, capstone seminars, comprehensive exams, theses, or colloquia/policy workshops.[118]

To examine the overall structure of curricula, I measured the number of total credit hours[119] that programs required for a degree to be awarded. To tap the emphasis (or focus) of programs, I measured the proportion of credit hours devoted to core courses. To explore the nature and structure of the "additional" curricula, I counted the number[120] of concentrations that academic units *officially claimed* to offer.[121]

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[118]. Although exit components are one of the major building blocks in the curriculum, only Cleary (1990) measured them. His study, however, was limited to examining internship requirements.

Most of these exit components are designed to provide students an opportunity to have practical experiences. Although the internship usually is taken during the summer between the first and second years of a program, I included it in the category of exit curricular components. Similarly, some programs consider research projects and capstone seminars to be parts of core components, but I included them among the exit components.

[119]. Because of differences in credit hours depending on whether a university is on a semester or a quarter system, all credit hours in quarter systems (the basic credit hours per class are usually four hours) were converted to semester hours (the basic credit hours per class are usually three hours). In the case of Carnegie Mellon University, whose basic hour unit is twelve, which is equivalent to a three or four credit class taken at other institutions, the credit hours assigned courses were recalculated to three credit hours per class.

In addition, total credit hours required may differ depending on the status of students as either pre- or in-service. When pre-service students are required to take internships and in-service students have the internship requirements waived, the total credit hours required of pre-service students are more than those of in-service students. In such cases, I used the total credit hours required of pre-service students.

[120]. Although some academic units allow student-designed concentrations, which permit students to take additional courses that reflect their individual interests and goals, such an option was not included here. The "generalist" option, however, was treated as an area of concentration.

[121]. Some academic units offer concentration courses but label them specialty, emphasis, specialization, option, cluster or track. Here, all of these were treated as "concentrations."

Related to areas of concentration, the NASPAA accreditation standards state:

In addition, one of the dimensions that one may consider in designing masters' programs is whether to have different curricular requirements for pre-service and in-service students. This is based on the idea that pre-service and in-service students are likely to have different interests and needs depending on their current status and future career goals (Denhardt 2001). Here, I examined whether and how requirements differed for pre-service and in-service students.

I turn next to the independent and intermediate variables considered as possible influences on program design.

Independent Variables: Multiple Institutional Logics and Organizational Positions

In this study, multiple institutional logics and organizational positions are the *independent variables*. In particular, I anticipate that multiple institutional logics will affect organizational belief systems as well as program design.

Multiple Institutional Logics

Institutional logics, which are possessed and championed by various institutional intermediaries in an organizational field (e.g., the state, professional associations, interest groups, the media), provide guidelines or standards for how organizations should act (Jepperson 1991). I contended in Chapter Three that these intermediaries are likely to convey multiple, inconsistent, and often competing institutional logics, "conceived of as organizing principles that govern the selection of technologies, define what kinds of actors are authorized to make claims, shape and constrain the behavioral possibilities of actors, and specify the criteria for effectiveness and efficiency" (Lounsbury 2002: 253).

Professional associations usually play a key role in producing and reproducing the guidelines, standards, or requirements that shape and direct organizational behavior in

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> If a program advertises its ability to provide preparation for a specialization or concentration in its catalog, bulletin, and/or posters, evidence shall be given that key courses in the specialization or concentration are offered on a regular basis by qualified faculty (NASPAA2: 5).

I treat an academic unit as providing a concentration curriculum if it claims to do so.

organizational fields (Czarniawska & Joerges 1996; DiMaggio 1988; Lounsbury 2002; Norus 1997; Scott 1995). Through such processes, they deliver certain institutional logics to their members. This study focuses on the possibility that the competing institutional logics of professional associations will have different influences on masters' programs in public affairs. Special attention is paid to two dimensions of NASPAA and APPAM that may have an impact on curricular components and structures: institutional membership and accreditation status.

Institutional Membership

According to Greenwood, et al. (2002: 60), professional associations are likely to enable "organizations in the same community to interact, and it is from these interactions that understandings of reasonable conduct and the behavioral dues of membership emerge." They serve as arenas of discourses in which various ideas about professional practices are contested and discussed (Karnøe 1997). Associations frame and reframe professional identities by defining the domain and scope of the profession (Greenwood, et al. 2002; Karnøe 1997; Rao, et al. 2000; Ruef 2000). In addition, such a process is likely to "shape [members'] self-concepts, engendering feelings of belongingness" (Alvesson & Willmott 2002: 21).[122] Members of a professional association are apt to share meanings, beliefs, values, and views of the preferred direction of professional practices. Once an agreement on the guidelines or standards for these practices emerges, it is likely to have rule-like status that members are expected to follow.

The field of public affairs has lacked consensus on what public affairs is and the accompanying issue of how it can and should be studied (Ventriss 1991). Historically, competing interpretations of the identity of public affairs have existed and have been advocated by professional associations that have delivered different institutional logics about what public affairs is and how it should be taught. Here, I consider two associations in the (educational) field of public affairs that offer *institutional* memberships: NASPAA and APPAM.

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[122]. More importantly, from the viewpoint of an individual organization, membership in a specific association is likely to signify its position in an organizational field (Rao, et al. 2000: 268-269).

At first, NASPAA was founded as "a satellite of ASPA [American Society for Public Administration], with self governing features approved by the ASPA National Council and subject, at least theoretically, to ultimate governance by that body…" (Henry 1995: 4).[123] It separated from ASPA and became a District of Columbia nonprofit corporation in 1977. Its main objectives were "encouraging curricular development and innovation in education and providing a forum for discussion of education issues" (NASPAA 1: 1). In its *Bylaws*, NASPAA defines institutional members as follows:

> Membership in the Association shall be open to appropriately designated academic units (e.g., college, schools, division, departments, programs, centers, institutes) within institutions of higher education which have been accredited by regional accrediting bodies or their equivalent, which have a substantial commitment to the purpose of the Association and which have organized separately identified curricula leading to:
> A. professional graduate degrees in public affairs and administration; or
> B. baccalaureate degrees in which professional education for public affairs and administration is a major component; or
> C. pre-baccalaureate degrees in public affairs and administration (NASPAA 1: 3).

This definition of institutional membership reflects NASPAA's intention to encompass all masters' programs, including "public policy" programs. In fact, institutional members of NASPAA are a mix of traditional public administration and public policy programs. Since the establishment of APPAM, however, most consider NASPAA to represent the more or less traditional public administration programs that stress public administration contexts and public management in their curricula (Frederickson 1999).

In 1978, a conference on public policy and management curriculum was held at Hilton Head, South Carolina, sponsored by the Sloan Foundation, which proposed "a new professional association of graduate schools of public policy and management" (APPAM 1: 1). The following year, APPAM was established at a "conference at Duke University by representatives of 15 policy schools and research institutes" (APPAM 1: 1). Its foundation was a revolt against NASPAA, which was seen as being occupied by

[123]. Henry notes that "NASPAA was part of ASPA for legal, fiscal, and administrative purposes; the Executive Director of ASPA was responsible for NASPAA funds, and support to NASPAA was initially an additional duty of various ASPA staff members" (1995: 4).

traditional public administration programs.[124] APPAM's creation also was closely related to "the discontinuation of MPA programs in the political science departments of many of the leading universities in the United States and their replacement with schools or programs of policy analysis or policy study" (Frederickson 1999: 9) in the 1960s and 1970s.

APPAM also offers institutional membership, but it does not have any specific requirements. In an e-mail interview, Erick Devereux, the Executive Director of APPAM noted:

> APPAM does not have any specific qualifications for institutional membership. At this time approximately two-thirds of our institutional members are in higher education, and most of the others are research organizations. APPAM's institutional membership includes most of the public policy schools and programs in the United States, and several in other countries. Degrees offered through these institutions include the Master's of Public Policy (MPP) and the Ph.D. in Policy Analysis.

APPAM has focused primarily on public policy and management education, stressing macro- and micro-economics, policy analysis, quantitative analysis, and public or nonprofit management.[125] As such, APPAM clearly represents a different perspective on public affairs education than NASPAA. Indeed, APPAM has communicated its view in a variety of ways, including "both the spring and fall conferences, the Curriculum and Case Notes section of the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*,[126] and special

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[124]. APPAM was established as a consequence of "the movement to create specialized public policy curricula [that] materialized at universities eager to capitalize on public policy analysis as an intellectually intriguing focus for professional training and practice" (Lynn 2001: 161).

[125]. For instance, according to the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota: "Public policy is a professional discipline that seeks to solve public problems through policy analysis and design, program and project management, and community and public advocacy. The field brings together political science, economics, statistics, management, and other social science disciplines to shape the development of policies and programs at local, national, and international levels."

[126]. APPAM created *JPAM* in 1981 "through the merger of two university-based journals, *Policy Analysis* and *Public Policy*. The aim was to strengthen research on public policy and public management and to make it a *distinct field*" (Reuter & Smith-Ready 2002: 339; emphasis added).

activities such as graduate admissions and career fairs" (APPAM 1: 3). According to Devereux:

> APPAM affects professional master's degree programs mostly by fostering discussion among the people who direct those programs. That discussion occurs regularly at our annual conferences. Otherwise, we have a section on "Curriculum and Case Notes" in our research journal, the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, that is a forum for publishing articles on curriculum.

With the founding of APPAM, Dwight Waldo lamented that the field had become balkanized into public administration and policy studies camps (Frederickson 1999: 8-9). It is evident, then, that public affairs has had two institutional intermediaries, NASPAA and APPAM, which have promoted somewhat different institutional logics. These logics appear likely to have affected the designs of masters' programs. Here, institutional membership is tapped by noting the affiliation of a master's program with NASPAA, APPAM, or both.

Institutional Membership and Program Mission

An organization's mission is a manifestation of its reason(s) for existence. Ruef and Scott point out that an organization is expected to maintain "[t]he match between an organization's mission and the logic of the overarching institutional regime within which it operates" (1998: 888). As with organizational missions, academic units in public affairs are expected to have masters' programs with missions that are consistent with the logics of the professional associations with which they are affiliated.

Since its establishment, NASPAA has adopted a pluralistic perspective on public affairs education to accommodate the diversity of masters' programs of its institutional members. This pluralism has been reflected in its mission-based approach to accreditation, which notes that "programs will have differing missions and approaches to achieving excellence in public affairs education" (NASPAA 2: 2). Thus, NASPAA has employed a "big-tent assumption" that embraces various sorts of masters' programs in public affairs. Even so, NASPAA standards prescribe that "[t]he purpose of the curriculum shall be to prepare students for professional leadership in public service" (NASPAA2: 4). I expect that NASPAA-affiliated programs are likely to focus on

educating students to be public leaders. In addition, I also predict that the mission of programs affiliated with NASPAA is likely to be to train students to be public managers (Cleary 1990: 664). In contrast, I anticipate that APPAM-affiliated programs "do not purport to educate [students to be] public managers, but rather sophisticated policy analysts" (Ventriss 1991: 11).

Proposition 1: The educational mission(s) of a master's program is likely to differ depending on whether the program is affiliated with NASPAA or with APPAM.

Hypothesis 1-1: The educational missions of programs affiliated with NASPAA are more likely to be to prepare students to be public leaders.

Hypothesis 1-2: The educational missions of programs affiliated with NASPAA are more likely to be to educate students to be public managers.

Hypothesis 1-3: The educational missions of programs affiliated with APPAM are more likely to be to train students to be policy analysts.

Institutional Membership and Degree Type

I expect that the type of degree that a program offers is likely to differ depending on its affiliation with NASPAA or APPAM. The main degree offered by NASPAA members is likely to be the Master's of Public Administration (MPAd), for NASPAA represents traditional public administration programs. In contrast, APPAM members, mostly public policy schools, are more likely to award the Master's of Public Policy (MPP) degree (Roeder & Whitaker 1993).

Proposition 2: The type of degree offered is likely to differ depending on whether the program is affiliated with NASPAA, APPAM, or both.

Hypothesis 2-1: Programs affiliated only with NASPAA are more likely to offer MPAd degrees, while those affiliated only with APPAM are more likely to offer MPP degrees.

Accreditation Status

According to Lawrence (1999), professional associations are likely to impinge on institutional members in two ways: through membership rules and through standards of practice. While membership rules define the institutionalized boundaries of a profession that delimit "interactions, structures of domination, and information shared among actors," standards of practice provide "guidelines, norms and legal prescriptions relating to how practices are to be carried out within some determinate institutional setting" (Lawrence 1999: 165).

One of the major aims of establishing NASPAA was "to define the field and the curriculum content for graduate education in public affairs and administration" (Ingraham & Zuck 1996: 161). For that purpose, NASPAA undertook an accrediting program for "developing appropriate *standards* for education programs and reviewing the quality of programs" (NASPAA 1: 1; emphasis added), and it has worked as an accrediting agency in the field of public affairs.[127] As already indicated, NASPAA has delineated Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs in Public Affairs, Policy, and Administration. These standards are aimed at enhancing the educational quality of masters' programs and are used in the peer review and accreditation process conducted by the Association's Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation (COPRA). Here, accreditation status was tapped by whether or not a program is accredited by NASPAA.[128]

Accreditation Status and Curricular Structure

NASPAA has no specific requirements for curricular structure. Rather, it broadly prescribes that program curricula may be composed of common (core) components, additional components, and internships; NASPAA also strongly encourages member

[127]. As a separate body within NASPAA, the Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation (COPRA) has the responsibility for applying the Standards for Professional Master's Degree Programs in Public Affairs, Policy, and Administration and for assessing whether particular programs meet these standards. NASPAA accreditation standards consist of nine dimensions: program eligibility for peer review, program mission, program jurisdiction, curriculum, faculty, admission of students, student services, supportive services and facilities, and off-campus and distance education.

[128]. Programs that are accredited by NASPAA were coded 1; all others were coded 0.

programs to require "two academic years of full-time study to complete the professional masters degree program" (NASPAA2: 4-6).

Interestingly, Cleary (1990) found a statistically significant relationship between accreditation status and the number of total credit hours required; accredited institutional members tended to require more total hours than did unaccredited ones. He inferred that this happened due to possible pressures imposed on accredited members. I also examine the relationship between accreditation status and the number of total credit hours required.

Proposition 3: The curricular structure of a master's program is likely to differ depending on its accreditation status.

Hypothesis 3-1: Programs accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a larger number of credit hours than those that are not accredited.

Combination of Institutional Membership and Accreditation Status

As already discussed, NASPAA and APPAM have competing institutional logics regarding what public affairs is and how it should be taught. Roeder and Whitaker (1993), for example, argue that the traditional public administration and the policy analysis approaches differ in focus, with the former emphasizing institutional-management and the latter analysis. Their division evidently is compatible with my grouping of NASPAA and APPAM.[129]

NASPAA adopted accreditation to foster the integrity of programs, especially that of core curricula. Its accreditation standards provide guidelines for constituting core curricular components, including an understanding of public policy and administration

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[129]. Roeder & Whitaker stated: "This distinction in curriculum emphases reflects the split in public affairs education between traditional public administration and policy analysis" (1993: 521). More specifically, they argue that "[t]raditional public administration focuses on the roles of management of organizations, bureaucratic politics, and government institutions and processes, closely aligned with acceptance of the legitimacy of government intervention or action. In contrast, a policy analysis approach focuses primarily, if not exclusively, on economic theory using the rational models and analytical-statistical techniques developed in that discipline, closely aligned with skepticism about the efficacy of government intervention" (1993: 521).

contexts, the management of public organizations, and the application of quantitative and qualitative techniques of analysis (NASPAA2: 4-5).[130]

Here, based on programs' institutional memberships and accreditation status, the institutional environments of the programs are divided into five categories in order to examine possible relationships with curricular components and structure. (See Table 4-2.)

Table 4-2 Categories of the Institutional Environment:
Institutional Memberships and Accreditation

		Institutional Memberships		
		NASPAA	APPAM	Both
Accreditation provided by NASPAA	No	1	2	3
	Yes	4	N/A	5

[130]. NASPAA's accreditation standards prescribe core curriculum components in Section 4.21:

> In the Management of Public Service Organizations, the components of which include:
>
> - Human resources
> - Budgeting and financial processes
> - Information, including computer literacy and applications
>
> In the Application of Quantitative and Qualitative Techniques of Analysis, the components of which include:
>
> - Policy and program formulation, implementation and evaluation
> - Decision-making and problem-solving
>
> With an Understanding of the Public Policy and Organizational Environment, the components of which include:
>
> - Political and legal institutions and processes
> - Economic and social institutions and processes
> - Organization and management concepts and behavior (NASPAA2: 4-5).

"These requirements, [however], do not prescribe specific courses. Neither do they imply that equal time should be spent on each area or that courses must all be offered by the public affairs, public policy or public administration programs. Nor should they be interpreted in a manner that might impede the development of special strengths in each program" (NASPAA2: 5).

Combination of Institutional Membership/Accreditation Status and Curricular Components

I argue that institutional membership and accreditation status are likely to have both convergent and divergent effects on masters' programs in public affairs. I expect to find differences among the five groups and similarities within each group.[131]

Proposition 4: The curricular components of a master's program are likely to differ depending on where the program is placed among the five categories.

Hypothesis 4-1: Programs that are members of and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses than are programs that are members of APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA.

Hypothesis 4-2: Programs that are members of and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are programs that are members of APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA.

Hypothesis 4-3: Programs that are members of and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are programs that are members of APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA.

Hypothesis 4-4: Programs that are members of and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government than are programs that are members of APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

[131]. Many expect there will be considerable similarity across programs. For example, Lynn (2001: 161) argued: "The public policy curriculum has become an example of institutional isomorphism. Even though public policy programs at many universities exhibit distinctive normative environments, the core structures of these curriculums are, despite local variations, quite similar." Breaux, et al. (2003: 260) observe that accreditation has served as "a centripetal force that results in similarities" among accredited programs.

Hypothesis 4-5: Programs that are members of and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in methods courses than are programs that are members of APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA.

Organizational Positions

The second independent variable, organizational position, taps where a program is located in both space and time. Here, it mainly refers to the current locations of programs in academic units, in universities, and in the field of public affairs.

Organizational Setting

Organizational setting[132] has been one of the most frequently employed variables in investigating program designs (e.g., Baldwin 1988; Breaux, et al. 2003; Cleary 1990; Howard 1975; Mackelprang & Fristscher 1975; Roeder & Whitaker 1993). It is closely linked to ideas about the roots of public affairs and its affiliation with academic disciplines. If a master's program is housed in a political science department, for example, public administration may well be considered to be a subfield of political science, which should be taught from the perspective of the broader discipline. Similarly, the Department of Public Administration at Drake University notes:

> The location of the MPA program in the College of Business and Public Administration allows students to easily integrate public management coursework with business management, accounting, finance, marketing, and information systems – courses with the public sectors in mind.

I anticipate that different organizational settings are likely to produce different program designs, because the varying settings often are characterized by different views of what public affairs is and how it should be taught.

Masters' programs in public affairs are lodged in various organizational settings,[133] which public administration scholars have categorized in several ways.[134]

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[132]. Cleary described organizational setting as a mix of "the nature of organization of the teaching unit and its placement in the university" (1990: 663).

[133]. I share Roeder and Whitaker's impression that "[a]ttempting to categorize and summarize the institutional locations of public administration/public affairs program is challenging. Academics have been very creative in inventing institutional structures"

Here, I divided the organizational settings of programs into five categories: political science (PS), public administration (PAd), public affairs (PAf), public policy (PP), and business (B & M) units.

Proposition 5: The curricular components and structure of masters' programs are likely to differ depending on the type of academic unit in which it is located.

Organizational Setting and Curricular Components

Cleary (1990) found statistically significant relationships between the content of a program's curricular requirements and the organizational setting. For example, programs

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(1993: 525). NASPAA acknowledges that "…public policy and public administration programs may exist in several forms – sometimes as an autonomous department or school, sometimes as an accountable portion of some larger unit such as a school of administration or a department of political science" (NASPAA2: 3).

[134]. For example:

Baldwin (1988): political science departments, public administration departments, combined departments, separate schools, and combined schools.

Breaux, Clyncb, and Morris (2003): programs housed in a college of business, programs housed in independent departments of public administration located in schools of public affairs and urban studies and schools of public administration, programs housed in independent departments of public administration located in colleges of arts and sciences, programs housed in joint political science and public administration departments, and programs housed in political science departments.

Cleary (1990): programs affiliated with a political science department; programs in a public affairs school, college, institute, or center; programs in a public administration unit of a school or college of arts and sciences, social science, or professional programs; programs in a business school or college; public policy programs; and programs in an integrated management school.

Frederickson (1999): political science departments, schools of public policy, schools of business or management, and freestanding schools or departments.

Howard (1975): separate school of public administration or public affairs, combined with business administration or others in a college or school, separate institute not located within a department of government, and political science.

Mackelprang & Fristscher (1975): separate professional schools, separate departments combined professional schools, combined departments, and political science departments.

Roeder and Whitaker (1993): Department of Political Science or Government, Colleges of Business or Business and Public Administration, separate School of Public Affairs or Administration, Department of Public Administration in Colleges of Arts and Science or Liberal Arts, and Urban Affairs and Public Policy units.

in public policy schools were less likely to require personnel and public finance as core courses, while around one-third of programs housed in business schools required no courses in political institutions and process. He also found that programs lodged in public administration schools were more likely to offer such core courses as finance, personnel, policy analysis, research methods, information systems, and decision making, while those in public policy schools required such courses as economics, political institutions and processes, policy analysis, and research methods in the core. In his research, economics courses in particular were one of the keys in indicating differences in core course arrangements: "75% of the public policy programs require economics in their core…only 10.9% of political science programs have an economics requirement" (1990: 666).

Roeder and Whitaker (1993) also found that programs in business schools were more likely to stress such courses as policy analysis and analytical techniques in the core by assigning relatively more credit hours to those areas. Unexpectedly, however, they discovered that programs located in colleges of business were likely to allot a higher percentage of core hours to political institutions and processes than were those housed in political science departments or in public affairs/administration departments or schools.[135] Here, I compare programs in political science, public affairs, and public administration units with those in public policy units because the former seem more likely to stress the context of public administration, which includes political institutions and processes, than the latter.

Hypothesis 5-1: Programs located in PS, PAd, and PAf units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses than are programs housed in PP units.

Hypothesis 5-2: Programs located in PAd, PAf, and B & M units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are programs housed in PP units.

Hypothesis 5-3: Programs located in PS, PAd, and PAf units are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are programs housed in PP units.

[135]. They did not provide any possible reasons for such a finding.

Hypothesis 5-4: Programs located in PAd and PAf units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government than are programs housed in PP units.

Hypothesis 5-5: Programs located in PS, PAd, and PAf units are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in methods courses than are programs housed in PP units.

Organizational Setting and Curricular Structure

Cleary (1990) also examined the relationship between organizational setting and total credit hours. He found that, on average, programs in political science departments required fewer total credit hours (39.5 hours) than did those in public policy units (47.6 hours). He inferred that this was because of "the-below-average size of the core in…the area of policy analysis" in programs located in political science units (1990: 668). Here, I also relate organizational setting to the required number of total credit hours.

Hypothesis 5-6: Programs located in PS units are likely to require a smaller number of total credit hours than are than programs housed in PP units.

In addition, Cleary (1990) studied the relationship between organizational setting and the number of core courses. He found that business units tended to require more core courses than other units. I also investigate the relationship between organizational setting and core curriculum size but use the proportion of core credit hours instead of the number of core courses.

Hypothesis 5-7: Programs located in B & M units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in the curricula than are programs lodged in other units.

Lastly, when Cleary (1990) investigated the relationships between organizational settings and concentration areas, he failed to find any that were statistically significant. Here, instead of examining the relationship between organizational setting and specific

areas of concentration, I look for a possible relationship between organizational setting and the *number* of concentrations that programs offer. I anticipate that programs housed in public policy or business units are likely to offer a larger number of concentrations than are programs lodged in political science units. This is because the organizational settings of public policy and business units often are "schools" or "colleges," while those of political science almost always are "departments"; the former typically are larger than the latter, which may make it easier for them to offer more concentrations.

Hypothesis 5-8: Programs located in PP units are likely to offer a larger number of areas of concentration than are programs housed in PS units.

University Type

Masters' programs not only are lodged in specific departmental, school, or college settings but they also operate within larger university environments. Program design may well be influenced by the kinds of universities in which programs are located. Here, university environment is measured using the dimension of private versus public.

Despite the crudeness of this dichotomy, it gives a sense of possible differences in organizational characteristics, values, and directions. Tolbert (1985: 3-4), for example, examined the impact of differences between private and public universities, stressing variation in financial resources. Public schools have relied heavily on governmental funds (particularly from state governments), while private schools have received revenues primarily from tuition, endowments, and gifts and grants from private donors. She argued that such variation in dependency relations affected the structures of private and public universities.

Central to the distinction between private and public universities is where each type of university is likely to put its priorities. For instance, private universities are likely to be more sensitive to economic and client demands,[136] which may affect the design of their programs. As higher education in the United States has come to be more

[136]. Scott (1998: 351) observed that the effectiveness of private organizations "is directly determined by their customers; if their interests are satisfied, then they will continue to supply the inputs required by the organization; if not, then they can withhold their contributions."

competitive and dominated by market logic, however, both public and private schools have undergone similar pressures to attract more students and more money.[137] Even so, the nature and extent of such pressures on programs may differ depending on whether they are located in a private or a public university.[138]

Proposition 6: The curricular components and structure of a master's program are likely to differ depending on whether the program is located in a public or a private university.

University Type and Curricular Structure

I examine possible relationships between university type and curricular structure, especially the number of concentration areas offered. If one follows Barth's (2002: 257) argument that offering concentrations is a fundamentally market-driven approach for capturing more students, for example, it can be hypothesized that programs located in private universities are more likely to adopt such an approach. This is because programs lodged in private universities are likely to be more vulnerable to market pressures than those in public schools, although the differences may well be decreasing given ongoing cuts in public support.

Hypothesis 6-1: Programs in private universities are likely to offer a larger number of areas of concentration than are programs in public universities.

Program Reputation

Program Reputation and Curricular Structure

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[137]. Albert and Whetten noted that the "…modern research university has shifted from its normative, largely religious origins towards an increasingly utilitarian posture" (1985: 281).

[138]. University type was coded "1" if a program is located in public university, and "0" otherwise.

Another indicator of program location is program reputation.[139] Reputation may give a sense of where a program is positioned in the larger field of public affairs, entail different expectations from different audiences, and generate different incentives for the program. These expectations can be supported by Barth's argument that "society needs different contributions from different levels of universities" (2002: 260). For example, "upper-tier" programs may be more apt to cover U.S. state and national issues, while "lower-tier" ones may be more likely to be directed toward local community audiences (Barth 2002).

A program's reputation may be closely linked to its perceived attractiveness, since "reputational rankings make the status orderings in organizations' environments highly visible" (Rindova & Fombrun 1998: 65). In this sense, ranking is an indicator of program reputation (Rindova & Fombrun 1998). Here, I use the rankings of masters' programs published in *U.S. News & World Report* to tap reputation. One of the criteria *U.S. News & World Report* used in rating programs is an assessment of curriculum. I examine the relationships between program ranking and curricular structure, including both numbers of total hours and concentration areas. Although a program's ranking may reflect total credit hours required and the variety of concentration areas it offers, the existence of such rankings may push programs to offer more total hours and concentration areas. I expect that more highly-ranked programs are likely to face more pressures and to have greater abilities to respond.[140] Program ranking is measured by distinguishing between the 50

[139]. Rao (1994: 30) contends that a reputation is "a tight coupling between past actions and future expectations, and organizational attributes and the evaluation of organizations."

[140]. In relation to the ability to offer more total hours and concentration areas, I believe there might be possible interrelationships among ranking, organizational setting, and size. Of the 51 programs that are ranked in the top 50 in either 1998 or 2001 (eight programs were excluded, because they are not affiliated with either NASPAA or APPAM), most (43; 84.3%) are housed in larger academic settings such as colleges (3), schools (34), and institutes (6); only six programs are located in a center (1), department (3), division (1), or program (1). In addition, these programs have an average of 25.65 faculty members, compared to 13.85 for all programs in the sample.

"upper-tier" programs included in the magazine's 1998 and 2001 rankings and the "lower-tier" programs that were not included.[141]

Proposition 7: The curricular components and structure of a master's program are likely to differ depending on the program's ranking.

Hypothesis 7-1: Programs that are ranked in the upper-tier are likely to require a larger number of total credit hours than are programs in the lower-tier.

Hypothesis 7-2: Programs that are ranked in the upper-tier are likely to offer a larger number of areas of concentration than are programs in the lower-tier.

Period of Program Founding

Finally, I investigated the relationship between the time a program was found and program design. I contend that many characteristics of programs might have been shaped during their founding periods.

Proposition 8: The curricular components and structure of a master's program are likely to differ depending on when the program was first established.

Period of Program Founding and Curricular Components

Historically, the field of public affairs has experienced several stages of paradigm change. Different program foundations have appeared periodically, along with such shifts of perspectives. In particular, it seems that the 1970s was a transformative period in the field of public affairs education. In the 1970s, many new masters' programs were created along with the establishment of NASPAA (Frederickson 1999; Henry 1995). In addition, "[d]uring the late 1960s, educators nationwide recognized the need for a new kind of public leadership and a new type of graduate education, fostering the vision, knowledge, and practical skills to empower a new generation of policy makers" (Richard & Rhoda

[141]. Here, I use program rankings only from 1998 and 2001 since the institutional members of APPAM were excluded from the 1995 program rankings. The rankings are limited to the top 50 programs. Therefore, I treat any programs included in the top 50 in either 1998 or 2001 as "upper-tier" programs, coded "1." Otherwise, I treat programs not included among these 50 as "lower-tier" programs, coded "0." See Appendix I.

Goodman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley). By the mid-1970s, in line with this new movement and the birth of policy science, the field witnessed the proliferation of public policy programs equipped with different ideas, perspectives, methods, and approaches. Moreover, since the 1970s, public management programs have emerged, and many existing public administration and public policy schools have added management courses to their curricula (APPAM 2). These developments suggest that programs established in 1970 and later might differ from those started earlier. Here, I divide the period of program founding into two categories to probe its possible influence on program design: 1969 or earlier and 1970 and later.[142]

The relationship between founding period and curricular components is tricky. As mentioned above, most of the programs established in 1970 and after were affiliated with NASPAA, which represented more traditional public administration programs. Thus, it can be hypothesized that programs created after 1970 would be more likely to accentuate public management courses in the core than those founded earlier. In contrast, although some new policy programs were created in 1970 and later, many of the so-called leading public affairs programs that existed before 1970 were transformed into public policy schools that focused on providing knowledge and skills in public policy. Thus, it can be predicted that older programs would be more likely to stress public policy courses in the core than would newer programs.

Hypothesis 8-1: Programs founded in 1970 or later are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are programs established in 1969 or earlier.

Hypothesis 8-2: Programs founded in 1969 or earlier are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are programs established in 1970 or later.

Period of Program Founding and Curricular Structure

[142]. Period of program founding was coded “1” if a program was first established in 1970 or later, and “0” otherwise.

In Roeder and Whitaker (1993) generated bivariate correlations between core curricular components and the year of program founding. They found that the inclusion of core courses on political institutions and processes and on legal institutions occurred especially in newer programs. In contrast, I investigate the relationship between the time of program founding and the numbers of total credit hours and of concentration areas. My expectation is that older programs (those established before 1970) are likely to require more total hours and to offer more areas of concentration than newer programs, because many older programs are the so-called "big" programs in public affairs and because they have simply accumulated requirements over time.[143]

Hypothesis 8-3: Programs established in 1969 or earlier are likely to require more total credit hours than programs founded in 1970 or later.

Hypothesis 8-4: Programs established in 1969 or earlier are likely to offer more areas of concentration than programs founded in 1970 or later.

Intermediate Variable: Organizational Belief Systems

One of the basic expectations of this study is that program designs may be subtly and essentially connected with the beliefs of the program faculty about what public affairs is and how it should be taught. Roeder and Whitaker indicated that "[p]rogram allocations of time or effort to curriculum components are based most directly on individual and collective faculty decisions about what is important intellectually or professionally, perceptions of what NASPAA standards appear to require, what instructional resources are available, and what faculty interests and areas of expertise are" (1993: 529). The graduate program in Public Administration at Evergreen State College provides one illustration. There, the MPA program is designed on the basis of beliefs that it should emphasize experiential learning, help students "develop critical thinking and an ethical orientation that enable graduates to act with professionalism and integrity," and

[143]. As with program ranking, I thought that there might be relationships among founding period, organizational setting, and program size. For instance, almost two-thirds of the 48 programs established in1969 or earlier in the sample (29; 60.4%) are located in schools, colleges, and institutes. These programs have 21.98 faculty members on average, compared to 13.85 in all programs in the sample.

enable them to more deeply appreciate the contexts of history, culture, politics, economics, and society in which they act. One might expect, then, that the Evergreen MPA program is likely to be designed to stress producing generalist public administrators equipped with understanding of broad public administration contexts and of the active roles of public administrators in managing public policies and programs ethically and effectively.

Here, I investigate whether and how program mission and degree type influence program design through academic units' evident beliefs about what courses in public affairs should be provided and how the core curricula should be structured.

Program Mission

An organizational mission is an explicit expression by an organization about what it is and what it seeks to achieve. The mission usually consists of an organization's goals, "its basic methods, [its] main tools or ways of acting with which it should be identified, and its place among organizations that carry on related activities" (Selznick 1984: 82). It involves a choice of organizational role(s) "*associated with a defined position in a social system*" (Selznick 1984: 82; emphasis in original).

Much like organizational missions, the educational missions of masters' programs contain what programs attempt to achieve and how they seek to do so.[144] "Programs are expected to provide a rationale for their course [components and] structure in terms of their educational goals and objectives" (Roeder & Whitaker 1993: 514). Missions usually are explicitly articulated in formal statements that convey beliefs of the faculty about what appropriate courses are and how they should be taught. According to the NASPAA accreditation standards, "[b]oth the common and the additional curriculum components need to be assessed as to their quality and consistency with the stated mission of the program" (NASPAA2: 4). I anticipate that such program missions are likely to influence curricular components and structures. I also expect that it is possible for the faculty of academic units to perceive multiple roles of public administrators, since the roles of public administrators have grown more complicated.

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[144]. Note that the missions Ph.D. or undergraduate programs in the same academic unit need not be the same as that of a master's program also lodged there.

Proposition 9: The curricular components and structure of a program are likely to differ depending on the explicitly articulated program mission(s) of the academic unit in which it is located.

Program Mission and Curricular Components and Structure

As mentioned above, I focus on academic units' evident perceptions of and beliefs about the roles of public administrators. The roles and scope of the profession are directly associated with the educational missions of masters' programs in public affairs, which are reflected in curricular components and structures. Here, I investigate three perspectives on the roles of public administrators, each of which is based on a different model of professionalism in public affairs: leadership, management, and policy analysis. I expect that these perspectives will be reflected in the stated educational missions of masters' programs and that such missions are likely to signify the faculty's beliefs about the desirable roles of public administrators.[145]

First, the *leadership* perspective tends to accentuate the active role of public administrators in exercising political authority and discretionary powers in democratic governance (Green, Keller, & Wamsley 1993; Wamsley, et al. 1990). This approach is more likely to consider public administrators as *generalists* and to emphasize normative aspects in masters' programs, based on "the belief that it is academically irresponsible to produce managers and analysts" (Tompkins, Laslovich, & Greene 1996: 120). That is, the programs employing this approach are likely to be designed to produce public leaders.

For example, the George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A & M University articulates this perspective:

> The Bush School Masters Program in Public Service and Administration prepares principled leaders capable of advancing the public interest through their practical knowledge and creative utilization of governments and markets in the public, private or not-for-profit sectors of society. The Bush

[145] I determined the "mission(s)" of masters' programs by looking at program web-sites. For the quantitative analysis, I created three variables: a) Public leaders (=1 if a program's mission is to educate students to be public leaders, and 0 otherwise); b) Public managers (= 1 if a program's mission is to educate students to be public managers, and 0 otherwise); c) Policy analyst (= 1 if a program's mission is to educate students to be policy analysts, and 0 otherwise).

> School's Masters Program in Public Service and Administration fulfills this mission by offering a comprehensive educational experience designed to cultivate professionalism and principle in public service. Our program integrates three components – a carefully-designed curriculum, leadership assessment and development, and public service experiences – each of which reinforces and contributes to the others. The mission statement mentions several features we believe to be of fundamental importance. First, the School takes as one of its cornerstones the idea of public service. This is a central value of former President George Bush, who stresses that public service is "a calling"…The cultivation of principled leaders refers to a second key goal of the Bush School. The school seeks individuals who have shown a disposition for leadership and works to develop and hone their skills. Students study alternative leadership styles and strategies. They engage in special skill-building workshops focused on topics such as communication, mediation, and crisis management that enhance their ability to manage and lead effectively…

James R. Wilburn, the Dean of the School of Public Policy at Pepperdine University, also underscores the perspective of the public leader in his Dean's Message:

> Although some graduate students are qualified to become skilled public policy analysts whose work is critical to government, private business, and nonprofit organizations, fewer students are prepared to combine these analytic tools with the organizational talents which can leverage their work through the activities of other people…Still fewer students have the strength of moral purpose and clearly defined values which set them apart as true leaders, able to inspire and design organizations which create value for those they serve and make meaning for those they lead. These are the individuals for whom the Pepperdine public policy program has been designed.

The following statement describes how the Pepperdine curriculum reflects such an educational mission:

> The program is carefully designed for a very specific purpose. While the mission of some programs is to train students to be analysts or to design and adopt effective public policies, Pepperdine University is committed to nurturing leaders who can use these tools of analysis and policy design to effect successful implementation and real change. This requires not only useful tools, but critical insights which only a broad exposure to great ideas, courageous thinkers, and extraordinary leaders can encourage. It is based on the conviction that an elevated and elevating culture, as well as personal moral certainties, are the valid concern of higher education and just as important as the tools of analysis. This significant perspective is reflected in the core courses of the Pepperdine curriculum and unashamedly sets it apart from more traditional public policy programs.

Hypothesis 9-1: Programs whose missions are to educate students to be public leaders are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses than are programs with other missions.

Hypothesis 9-2: Programs whose missions are to educate students to be public leaders are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in the curricula than are programs with other missions.

Second, the *management* perspective is based on the belief that the key role of public administrators is to manage public organizations and public policies and programs. Programs relying on the management approach are likely to be directed toward "more explicit preparation of students for managerial roles in the public sector" (Elmore 1986: 70). This approach seems more likely to emphasize the practical side of public affairs, stressing "the importance of developing competent managers…" (Tompkins, et al. 1996: 119).

> While widespread agreement exists among students of public administration that all future public managers should not study for the same degree or take the same courses, many believe that the master's degree is the central element of academic public administration's efforts to help educate public managers. Specialists are needed in accounting, contracting, finance, personnel, and a variety of other fields, but also needed are administrators with competence in the techniques and methods of organization and management and with understanding of the political, social, and economic environments in which they operate (Cleary 1990: 664).

Hypothesis 9-3: Programs whose missions are to educate students to be public managers are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are programs with other missions.

Finally, the primary focus of the *analysis* approach is the advisory role of public administrators in analyzing policies, which includes gathering and processing information to develop and assess alternatives for solving social problems. Producing policy analysts is apt to be the educational mission of programs employing this approach, with "analytic subjects at the core of the curriculum" (Elmore 1986: 70). The Master of Public Policy program at California Polytechnic State University-San Luis Obispo is a typical example:

> The Master of Public Policy degree program (MPP) is professionally oriented, and open to students who wish to pursue analytic careers in government and nonprofit organizations or in organizations related to public policy regulations. The program is structured to prepare graduates with competence to function in a general context of policy, as well as in analysis. The core courses cover statistics, public policy, public policy analysis, quantitative methods, public finance, policy internship, and graduate seminar.

Hypothesis 9-4: Programs whose missions are to educate students to be policy analysts are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are programs with other missions.

Hypothesis 9-5: Programs whose missions are to educate students to be policy analysts are likely to offer more areas of concentration than are programs with other missions.

Degree Types

The second indicator of organizational belief systems is degree type. I predict that the kind of degree offered also is likely to be linked to the program faculty's beliefs about what public affairs is and how it should be taught. According to Glynn and Abzug (2002), organizational names are not just names; rather, they encode the central meanings and values that organizations want to preserve and deliver. I argue that such names are likely to signify the intentions, directions, and identities of what organizations are and what they are doing. They are symbols that help characterize particular "ways of thinking and working" (Selznick 1984: 18). By the same token, naming degrees may signify the faculty's beliefs about the meaning and identity of public affairs.[146]

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[146]. The George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A & M University provides an intriguing example of naming the degree:

> One question frequently asked of Bush School Recruiters is, "Why do you call your degree the *Master of Public Service and Administration*? Most similar programs are simply called a Master of Public Administration or Master of Public Affairs."
> The Bush School chooses to add and emphasize service in our degree title because of our dedication to the principle that public service is a calling. There are those among us with the desire to make a real and substantial difference in the world, whether working for the federal government, for a

Currently, academic units offer various types (titles) of masters' degrees in public affairs.[147] Cleary (1990) identified four different titles of masters' degrees in public affairs: Master of Public Administration, Master of Public Affairs, Master of Arts in Public Administration, and Master of Public Policy. Here, I initially identified eight different titles of masters' degrees, and grouped these into three "degree types": Master of Public Administration (MPAd), Master of Public Affairs (MPAf), and Master of Public Policy (MPP). (See Table 4-3.)

Table 4-3 Categories and Types of Degrees

Categories	Degree Types	Numbers of Programs	
		N	%
Master of Public Administration	Master of Public Administration	198	82.5
	Master in Science in Public Administration	9	3.8
	Master of Public Service & Administration	2	.8
Master of Public Affairs	Master of Public Affairs	4	1.7
	Master of Public Management	24	10.0
Master of Public Policy	Master of Public Policy	1	.4
	Master of Public Policy & Administration	1	.4
	Master of Public Policy & Management	1	.4

Degree Types and Curricular Components and Structure

I contended that each program was designed based on faculty members' beliefs about what public affairs is and how it should be taught. Those beliefs, then, are likely to

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> small not-for-profit, working one on one with people and issues or something in between. They have called to serve.
> Our public administration program is designed for those who wish to heed this call. Professional, experiential and applied in nature, it is an academic experience that leads you into the fray of public policy, filling your professional toolbox with the sort of skills, tools, and knowledge base necessary to lead government, not-for-profit and private organizations. All the while you have access to distinguished leaders and are immersed in activities that allow you to live public service as you study it.

[147]. According to NASPAA, the types of masters' degrees offered by institutional members are the Master of Heath Administration (MHA), the Master of Public Administration (MPA), the Master of Public Affairs (MPA), the Master of Public Management (MPM), the Master of Public Policy (MPP), and the Master of Science (NASPAA 3).

be reflected in the type of degree offered, and the curriculum components and structures of programs are likely to be consistent with their degree types. For example, according to the description of the MPP program at the Richard & Rhoda Goodman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley:

> The program emphasizes practical and applied dimensions of policy-making and implementation, encouraging students to develop skills in:
> - defining policy issues to make them more intelligible to officials in the public or private sector
> - providing a broader perspective for assessing policy alternatives
> - examining techniques for developing policy options and evaluating their social consequences
> - and developing strategies for the successful implementation of public policies once they have been adopted

Proposition 10: The curricular components and structure of a master's program are likely to differ depending on the type of degree offered.

Hypothesis 10-1: MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration than MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-2: MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management than MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-3: MPAd programs are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy than MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-4: MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government than MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-5: MPAd programs are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in methods courses than MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-6: MPAd programs are likely to require fewer total credit hours than are MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-7: MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of total credit hours in be taken in core courses than are MPP programs.

Hypothesis 10-8: MPAd programs are likely to offer fewer areas of concentration than are MPP programs.

Additional and Alternative Explanations of Variations in Program Design

Even with the numerous hypotheses suggested here to account for variations in the design of masters' programs, it is virtually impossible to include all or even most possible influences. Even though it is not included in the conceptual framework, I also consider program size as a possible alternative or additional variable in explaining the variation.

In organizational research, organizational size has been one of the most frequently employed variables in accounting for organizational characteristics and differences (e.g., Donaldson 1999: 58; Baum 1999: 73-79). For example, Goodstein (1994) found that organizational responses to work-family issues differed depending on organizational size; larger organizations were more likely to agree to flex-time and other "family friendly" policies than smaller ones. Scott (2001: 165) contended that larger organizations also were more likely to be differentiated, since their resources were richer and more diverse and they were more sensitive to the demands of external forces.

Similarly, one might expect that the larger a master's program, the more likely it would be to offer more areas of concentration. Previous studies have examined program size as a factor that might affect the organizational setting of a program (Cleary 1990), its accreditation status (Cleary 1990), its reputation or productivity (Adams 1983; Morgan & Meier 1982), and its extension activities (Daniels, Darcy, & Swain 1982). These studies used the number of students as the indicator of program size.[148]

In contrast, Roeder and Whitaker (1993) utilized numbers of faculty, students, and graduates to more comprehensively tap various aspects of program size and related them to core curricula. The results indicated that the numbers of faculty and of courses in political institutions in the core were negatively correlated with each other (although they did not provide any interpretation).

[148]. The Richter Committee (1988) suggested several indicators for measuring program size such as the number of students, the number of faculty, the existence of an undergraduate program, the degree of autonomy, the quality of resources, visibility, and peripherality (listed in Tummala 1991: 466). In addition to those indicators, one may add the existence of a doctoral program in public affairs.

Here, the size of a program is measured by the numbers of full-time faculty and of total faculty (including part-time faculty such as visiting professors, adjunct professors, and lecturers).[149] I expect that the more faculty programs have, the more likely they would be to require more total credit hours and to offer more concentrations.

Proposition 11: The curricular components and structure of a master's program are likely to differ depending on the numbers of full-time faculty and of total faculty.

Hypothesis 11-1: As the number of full-time faculty in a program increases, the number of total credit hours required will increase.

Hypothesis 11-2: As the number of total faculty increases, the number of total credit hours required will increase.

Hypothesis 11-3: As the number of full-time faculty in a program increases, the number of areas of concentration offered will increase.

Hypothesis 11-4: As the number of total faculty increases, the number of areas of concentration offered will increase.

Table 4-4 summarizes the concepts, variables, and indicators used in this study.

[149]. NASPAA prescribes that "[t]here must be a faculty nucleus that accepts primary responsibility for the professional graduate program. This regular faculty should consist of a sufficient number of full-time faculty significantly involved with the program to support the set of teaching, research and service responsibilities appropriate for the size and structure of the program. In no case should this faculty nucleus be fewer than five full-time persons" (NASPAA2: 6).

Table 4-4 Variables, Indicators, and Measures

Variables	Indicators	Measures
Program design	Curricular components	❑ Proportion of core credit hours required to be taken in public administration courses ❑ Proportion of core credit hours required to be taken in public management courses ❑ Proportion of core credit hours required to be taken in public policy courses ❑ Proportion of core credit hours required to be taken in courses on specific level(s) of government ❑ Proportion of core credit hours required to be taken in methods courses
	Curricular structures	❑ Total number of credit hours needed to complete program ❑ Proportion of total credit hours required to be taken in core curricular courses ❑ Number of concentration areas offered
Multiple institutional logics	Institutional membership	❑ NASPAA ❑ APPAM ❑ Both NASPAA and APPAM
	Accreditation status	❑ Accredited by NASPAA ❑ Not accredited
Organizational position	Setting of academic unit	❑ Political Science Units ❑ Public Administration Units ❑ Public Affairs Units ❑ Public Policy Units ❑ Business Units
	University type	❑ Private ❑ Public
	Program reputation	❑ Lower-tier ❑ Upper-tier
	Founding period	❑ Year that program were first established
Organizational belief system	Degree type	❑ Master of Public Administration ❑ Master of Public Affairs ❑ Master of Public Policy
	Program mission	❑ Public leader ❑ Public manager ❑ Policy analyst

Unit and Levels of Analysis

To explore whether and why differences in the design of public affairs masters' programs exist, the study used the academic unit in which a master's program is housed

as the unit of analysis. It should be reiterated that this study includes only units that are *institutional* members of NASPAA, APPAM, or both.

As mentioned earlier, I argue that the design of masters' programs is a multilevel phenomenon that must be examined at several levels of analysis. Accordingly, the project adopted a multilevel approach,[150] investigating phenomena at the program, academic unit, university, population, and (educational) field levels of analysis.

First, I examined how masters' programs are designed at the program level, which provided information about the current features of many masters' programs in public affairs. Second, also at the program level, attention was paid to probing the impact of program mission and degree type on the design of such programs. Third, at the level of the academic unit, the impact on program design of the type of organizational setting in which a program is housed was examined. Fourth, the influence on design of the university in which a program is located was explored. Fifth, at the level of the organizational field, APPAM's and NASPAA's possible effects on program design were considered. As previously noted, I categorized academic units into five groups based on their institutional memberships and accreditation status. I treated each group as an organizational sub-population in which each academic unit is nested in a niche consistent with its program identity. Then I used that categorization as a construct[151] to see whether program designs were homogeneous within each group but heterogeneous among them.

Data

Selection of Academic Units

As previously mentioned, the objects of this study are *masters' programs* whose academic units are institutional members of NASPAA, APPAM, or both. Currently, NASPAA has 247 institutional members, while APPAM has 71; 49 academic units are

[150]. See the *Academy of Management Review* (1999: Vol. 24, No. 2) forum on multilevel theory building. Also see Goodman (2000) for discussion of the multilevel approach in studying organizations.

[151]. See Drazin, et al. (1999), Klein, et al. (1999), and Morgeson and Hofmann (1999) for further discussion of constructs.

institutional members of both. From these 269 academic units, I selected 240 programs located in 237 academic units according to four decision rules.

First, only academic units in the continental United States were examined. Three institutional members in Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands were excluded from this study[152] as were four international schools.[153]

Second, only academic units that award masters' degrees were considered. Six units that offer only Ph. D. degrees[154] and six that offer only undergraduate degrees were excluded.[155]

Third, I chose only academic units that offer *regular* masters' degree.[156] Units that award only Executive MPAs and certificates were excluded.[157] Also eliminated from

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[152]. Guam (Department of Public Administration, University of Guam), Puerto Rico (Graduate School of Public Administration, University of Puerto Rico), and the Virgin Islands (Division of Social Sciences, University of the Virgin Islands).

[153]. School of Policy Management, Keio University (Japan); Public Policy Programme, National University of Singapore (Singapore); School of Policy Studies, Queen's University (Canada); and School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand).

[154]. Graduate School of Policy Studies, RAND Corporation; John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Department of Policy Analysis & Management, Cornell University; Department of Public Policy, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Public Policy Program, University of North Carolina at Charlotte; and Department of Business and Public Policy, University of Pennsylvania.

[155]. Public Administration Program, Extended University of Upper Iowa; Department of Public Administration, University of Maine, Augusta; Social Science Department, Mississippi Valley State University; Social Science Division, Medgar Evers College of New York; Department of Economics, Swarthmore College; and Department of Political Science & Public Administration, Virginia State University.

[156]. NASPAA accreditation standards prescribe minimum degree requirements:

> Students with little or no educational background or professional experience in the common and additional curriculum components are expected to devote the equivalent of *two academic years of full-time study* to complete the professional masters degree program (NASPAA2: 5-6; emphasis added).

consideration were one research institute that does not have any degree programs [158] and one academic unit that offers public administration courses as a concentration.[159]

Fourth, only academic units that offer the MPAd degree or its equivalents such as MPAf, MPP, and MPM were selected. This led to excluding six additional academic units. Finally, I failed to obtain meaningful information about two academic units. In total, 32 academic units of the original 269 were excluded. Three of the remaining academic units have two masters' programs (MPA and MPP).[160] In the end, the study examined 240 masters' programs.[161]

Sources of Data

The main sources of data about the masters' programs were the websites of the academic units that house them. Additional sources included hard copies and websites of program brochures, catalogs, bulletins, handbooks, and other material that individual academic units and universities made available. When I was unable to get satisfactory information from these sources, I contacted graduate directors/program coordinators by e-mail with specific questions. In particular, I sent e-mails to 170 programs to ask the year of program founding and received responses from 111 (return rate = 65.3%).

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[157]. Graduate School of Liberal Studies & Public Affairs at Golden Gate University; Metropolitan College of New York; Institute of Government & Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

[158]. Network for Policy Research, Pennsylvania State University, College Park.

[159]. Department of Political Science, Marshall University.

[160]. School of Policy, Planning, and Development, University of Southern California; School of Public Affairs, American University; and School of Public Policy and Administration. Note that in addition to these three academic units, some units offer both the MPA and MPP or the MPP and MPM. However, one of the two is specifically designed for in-service students only, a focus not included in the study.

[161]. See Appendix II for more detailed information about the institutional memberships and accreditation of academic units examined in the study; George Mason University offers two different degrees (MPA and MPP) housed in separate academic units (the Department of Public Administration/ Institute of Public Policy and the Department of Public & International Affairs/ School of Public Policy).

In addition to getting information from individual academic units and universities, I looked at the websites of NASPAA and APPAM as well as others (e.g., ASPA). These sites offered information about institutional members' programs in more integrated form.

The final data source was program rankings published by *U.S. News & World Report*. In 1995, *U.S. News & World Report* conducted the first national survey of 223 public affairs programs to collect information for ranking programs in public affairs. However, the institutional members of APPAM (e.g., Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley) were excluded from the 1995 rankings. Since then, two more surveys of 259 programs were conducted in 1998 and 2001, which included the institutional members of both APPAM and NASPAA.

Limitations of the Study

To this point, the literature in public affairs has paid relatively little attention to various aspects of master's program design. As previously mentioned, only three studies since 1990 (Breaux, et al. 2003; Cleary 1990; Roeder & Whitaker 1993) have examined components of core curricula. All three arguably failed to produce adequate explanations for similarities and differences in program designs. Even though this study provides more comprehensive coverage of program designs and the factors that might influence them, it suffers from many similar limitations.

No commonly agreed-upon variables for examining program designs and their relationships with other factors have emerged. Nor have accepted ways of measuring either program design or potential influences appeared. In particular, no common ways of categorizing core curricular components have developed. For example, the three studies employed different categorizations and indicators of core curricular components. These limitations have produced validity and reliability problems. Likewise, in this study, there evidently is considerable room for bias in categorizing core curricular components. Even though I carefully reviewed course titles and descriptions, for instance, the material actually covered in courses is too diverse and complicated to be tapped by the indicators that I employed.

Another critical limitation of this study is that it lacks a longitudinal dimension. As a consequence, it cannot track or explain how any master's program developed. Some programs may have changed dramatically due to factors like faculty departure and replacement, reorganization within the college or university, or paradigm shifts in public affairs. In addition, this study has limited generalizability both because it does not include all masters' programs and, perhaps more importantly, because the proposed framework is applied to only a single empirical issue, variations in program design.

Lastly, the study is limited to examining the impact of the three contextual factors on program design; it does not explore any possible influences of academic units or programs on the institutional environment. Constructing institutional logics that contain the guidelines and standards for public affairs education at the field level clearly is related to attempts to define the identity of public affairs. This process of identity definition is competitive, for so many interested actors are involved. For instance, individual academic units were involved in founding NASPAA and APPAM and in creating NASPAA accreditation standards; an investigation of these processes would help one understand how academic units can influence the creation of and changes in the institutional environment.

The next chapter turns to the findings from testing the hypotheses this chapter proposed.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The previous chapter introduced several hypotheses about the possible relationships between program design and three contextual factors – multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. Before turning to the results of testing these hypotheses, this chapter begins by describing the masters' programs in public affairs that the analysis was based upon.

Current Features of Masters' Programs

One objective of this study was to provide information about the current features of the 240 masters' programs selected. The description of the programs that follows examines them according to the independent, intermediate, and dependent variables included in the hypotheses.

Characteristics of Masters' Programs (Independent and Intermediate Variables)

Multiple Institutional Logics

To tap the multiple institutional logics that masters' programs face, I examine their institutional membership and accreditation status. (See Table 5-1.)

Table 5-1 Summary Statistics: Institutional Membership, Accreditation Status, and Group Category

	Institutional Membership	NASPAA Accreditation	Group Category
	1) Only NASPAA 2) Only APPAM 3) Both NASPAA and APPAM	0) No 1) Yes	1) NASPAA and accreditation 2) NASPAA and no accreditation 3) APPAM and no accreditation 4) NASPAA/APPAM and accreditation 5) NASPAA/APPAM and no accreditation
Mean	1.42	.56	2.05
Median	1	1	2
Mode	1	1	1
Standard Deviation	.79	.50	1.26

First, over three-fourths (186; 77.5%) of the programs in the sample are affiliated only with NASPAA, while only eight (3.3%) are solely APPAM members and 46 (19.2%) are affiliated with both (see Figure 5-1). Second, over half (134; 55.8%) of the programs are accredited by NASPAA (see Figure 5-2). Finally, the programs were divided into five groups based on their institutional memberships and accreditation status. Over one hundred (43.8%) programs are both members of and accredited by NASPAA, while 81 (33.8%) belong to NASPAA but are not accredited. Only eight (3.3%) are members of APPAM exclusively. Thirty (12.5%) are affiliated with both and are accredited by NASPAA. Sixteen (6.7%) are members of both associations but do not have accreditation (see Figure 5-3).

Figure 5-1 Institutional Membership

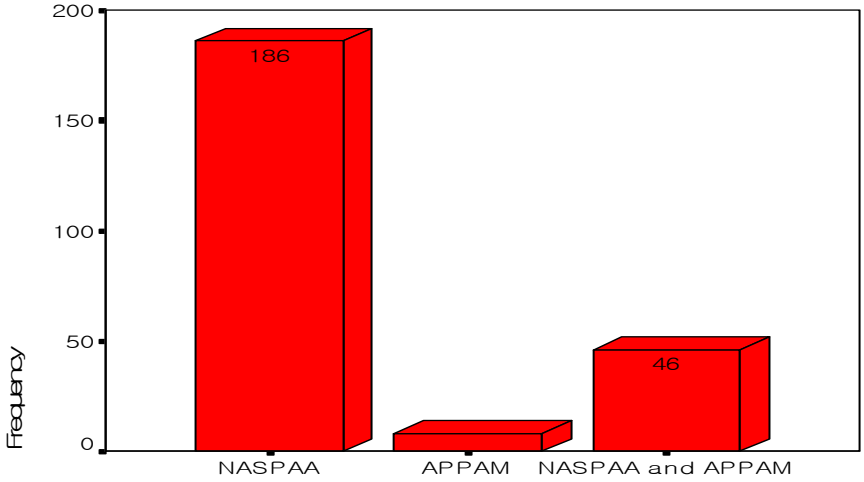


Figure 5-2 Accreditation Status

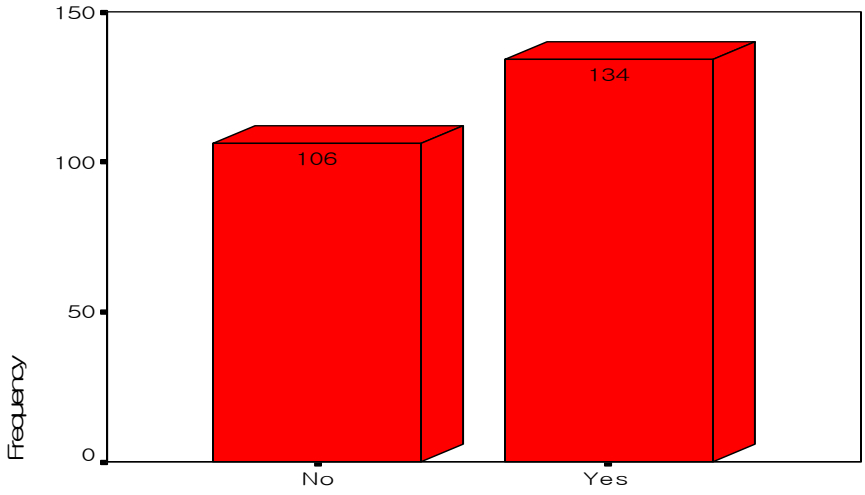
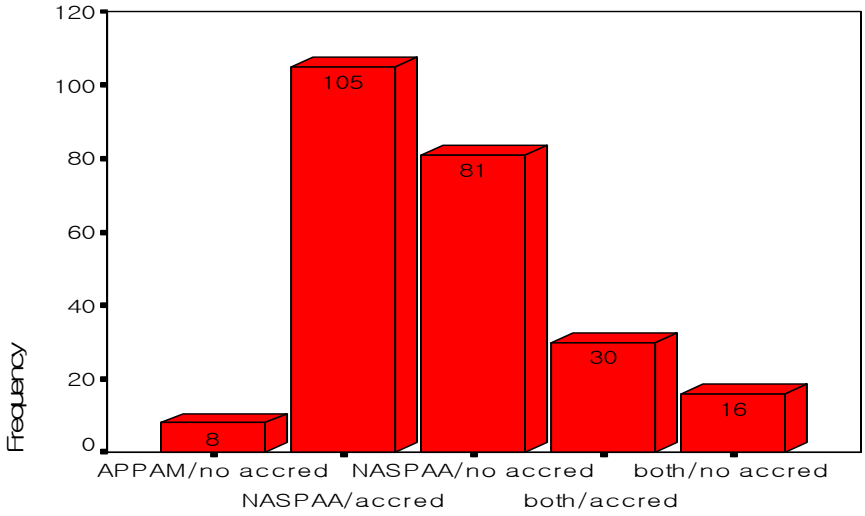


Figure 5-3 Group Category



Organizational Positions

I also investigated organizational setting, university type, program reputation, and founding period, all of which tap the positions of academic units at various levels of analysis. Table 5-2 contains descriptive statistics for these indicators.

Table 5-2 Summary Statistics: Organizational Setting, University Type, Program Reputation, and Founding Year

	Organizational Setting	University Type	Program Reputation	Founding Year
	1) Political science unit 2) Public administration unit 3) Public affairs unit 4) Public policy unit 5) Business unit	0) Private 1) Public	0) Lower tier 1) Upper tier	
Mean	2.50	.80	.74	1973.71
Median	2	1	1	1975
Mode	1	1	1	1974
Standard Deviation	1.48	.40	.41	15.47
Range	4	1	1	87
Minimum	1	0	0	1914
Maximum	5	1	1	2001

Despite the transformation of the organizational settings of masters' programs (Frederickson 1999), political science departments remain the most dominant organizational setting in which masters' programs are lodged (94; 39.2%). (See Figure 5-

4.) The rest of the programs are located in public administration (37; 15.4%), public affairs (39; 16.3%), public policy (36; 15.0%), and business units (34; 14.2%). These findings are quite consistent with those in previous studies, although somewhat different categorizations were employed.[162] Second, most programs (193; 80.4%) in the sample are located in public universities (see Figure 5-5). Third, only 21.7% (52) of the programs examined had been included among the top 50 programs in either the 1998 or the 2001 rankings published in *U.S. News & World Report* (see Figure 5-6). Finally, 41% (74) were first founded in the 1970s (see Figure 5-7), with the most during this period in 1974. Nearly 27% (48) were established in earlier decades. Henry (1995) explained the boom in creating masters' programs during the 1970s by relating it to the establishment of professional associations, especially NASPAA and its provision of accreditation. Twenty-one percent (31) and 12% (21) of the programs were founded in the 1980s and 1990s respectively. Almost three-fourths of the programs in the sample were first established after 1969.[163]

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[162]. Engelbert (1977: 521):

	Number	Percentage
Separate professional school of public affairs/administration	46	18.4
Separate department of PA/A	67	26.9
Professional school of PA/A combined with another professional school	17	6.8
Department of PA/A combined with another department	18	7.2
PA/A program within a political science department	89	35.7
Other educational or non-educational unit	12	4.8

Cleary (1990: 664):

	Number	Percentage
Programs affiliated with a political science departments or school	64	37.0
Programs in a public affairs school, college, institute, or center	44	25.4
Programs in a public administration unit of a school or college of arts and sciences, social science, or professional programs (i.e., not affiliated with a political science, business, public affairs, or public policy school or department)	31	17.9
Programs in a business school or college	19	11.0
Public policy programs	12	6.9
Programs in an integrated management school	3	1.9

[163]. I e-mailed the program directors or coordinators of academic units that did not provide the date of program founding on program websites. Despite that, I failed to get such information from 59 (25%) academic units.

Figure 5-4 Organizational Setting

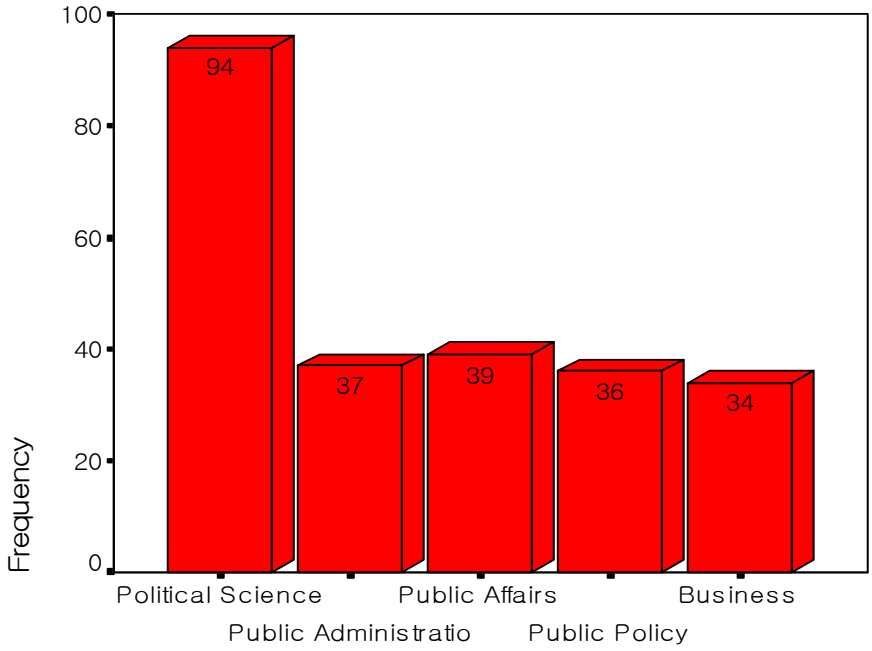


Figure 5-5 Type of University

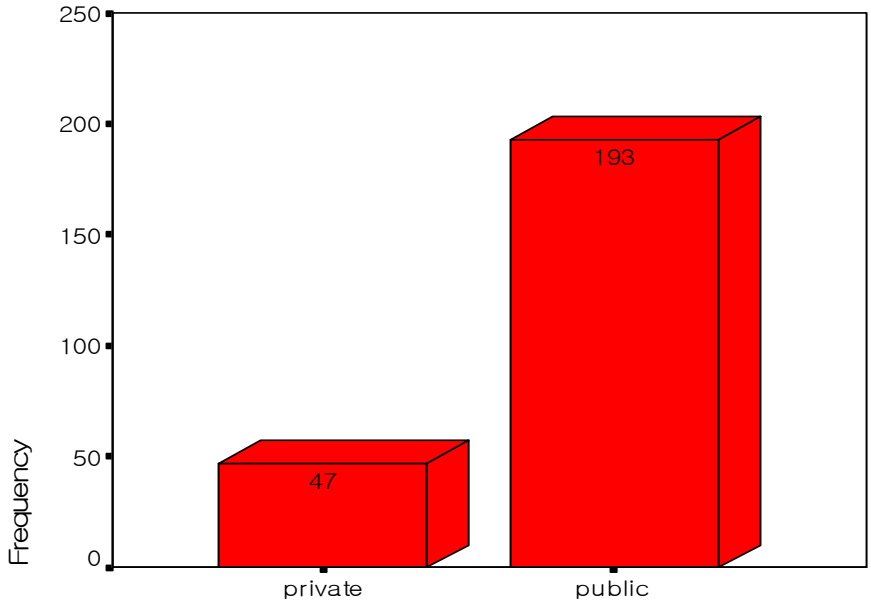


Figure 5-6 Program Ranking

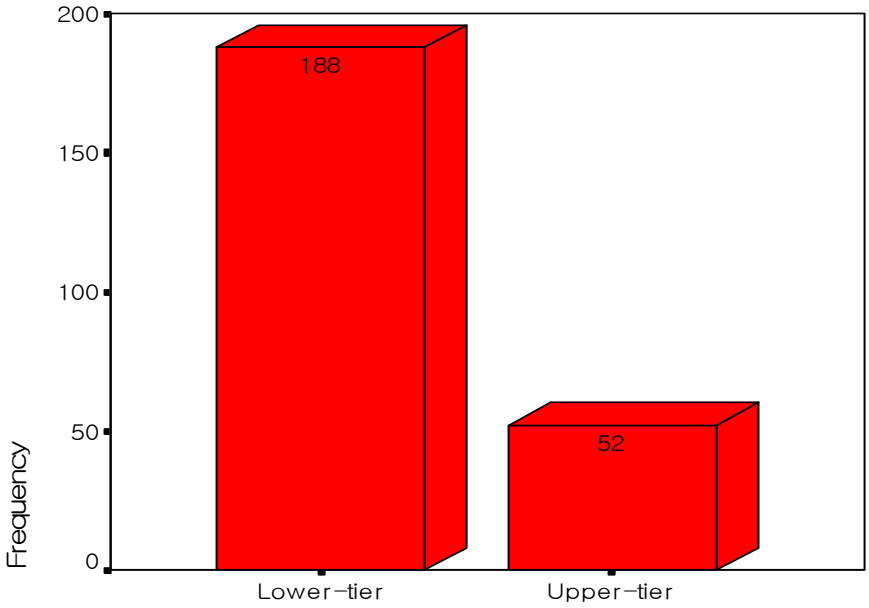
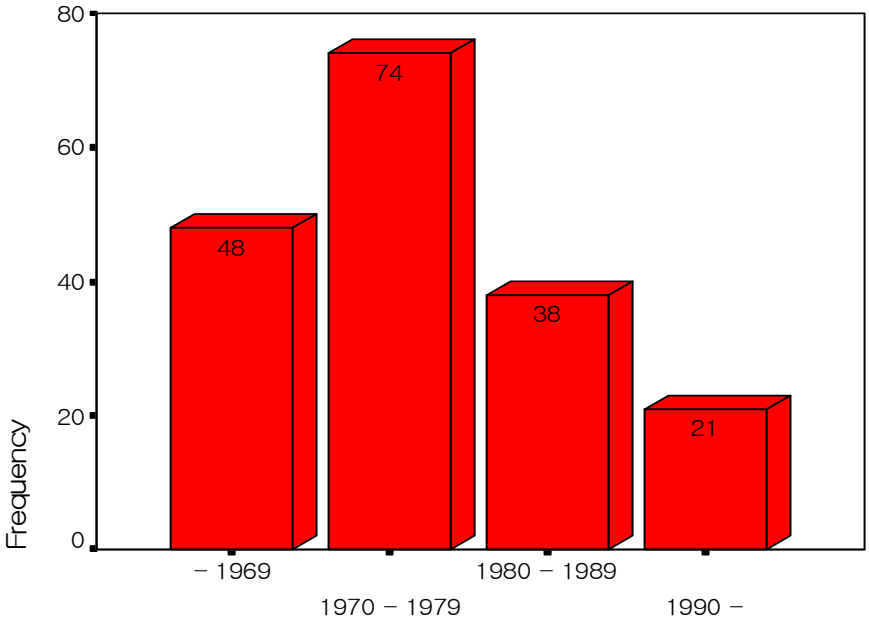


Figure 5-7 Year of Program Founding



Organizational Belief Systems

Lastly, I collected data on program mission and degree type, both of which indicate the belief systems of academic units. Program missions were categorized as

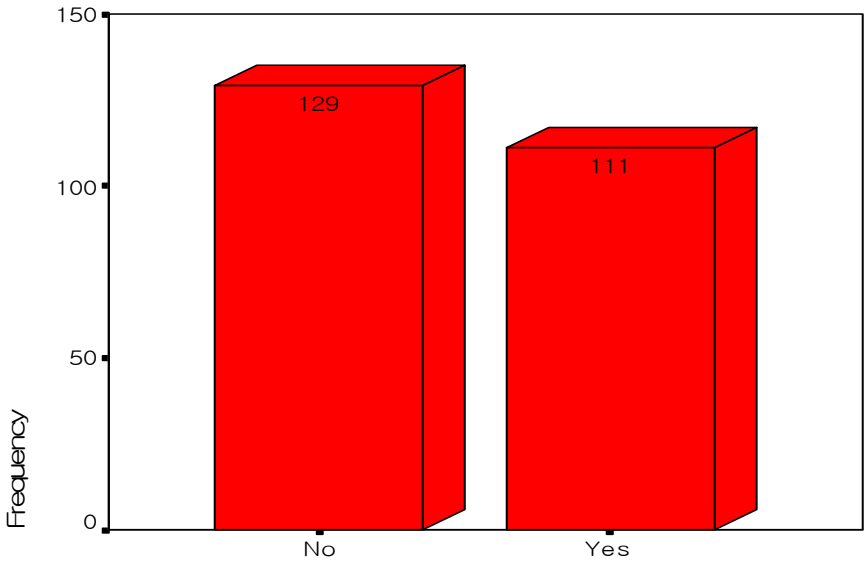
producing public leaders, public managers, or policy analysts.[164] The descriptive statistics appear in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 Summary Statistics: Program Mission and Degree Type

	Program Mission			Degree Type
	Public Leader	Public Manager	Policy Analyst	1) MPAd 2) MPAf 3) MPP
	0) No 1) Yes	0) No 1) Yes	0) No 1) Yes	
Mean	.46	.84	.28	1.28
Median	0	1	0	1
Mode	0	1	0	1
Standard Deviation	.50	.37	.45	.67

Figure 5-8 indicates that somewhat fewer than half (111; 46.3%) of the programs studied claim that their missions are to train students to be public leaders. Most programs (201; 83.8%) indicate that their missions are to educate students to be public managers. (See Figure 5-9.) In contrast, only 67 (27.9%) describe their missions as preparing students to be policy analysts. (See Figure 5-10.)

Figure 5-8 Mission: Public Leaders



[164]. Note that more than half of the programs (122; 51%) in the sample have more than one program mission.

Figure 5-9 Mission: Public Managers

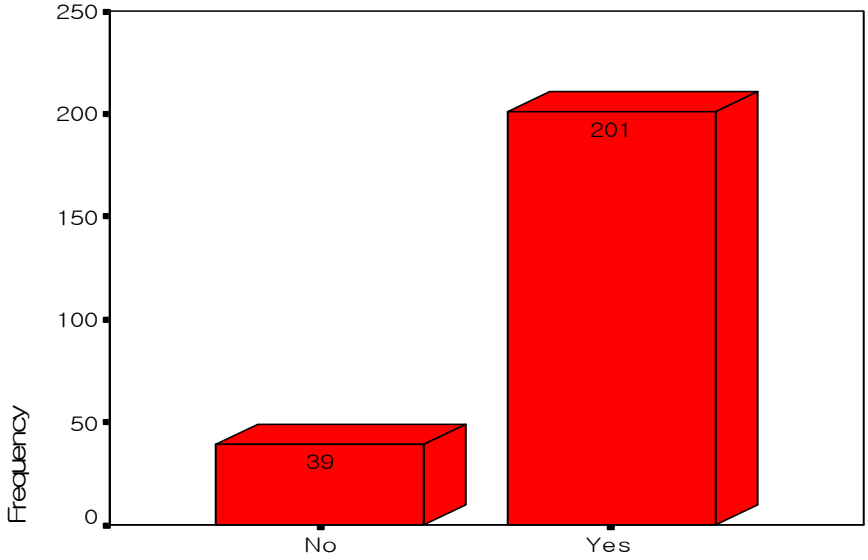
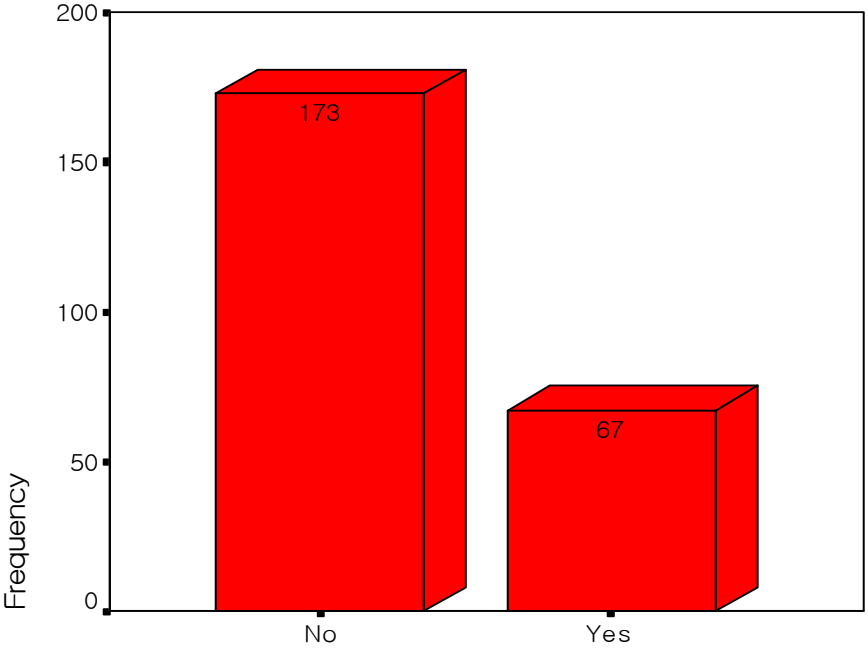


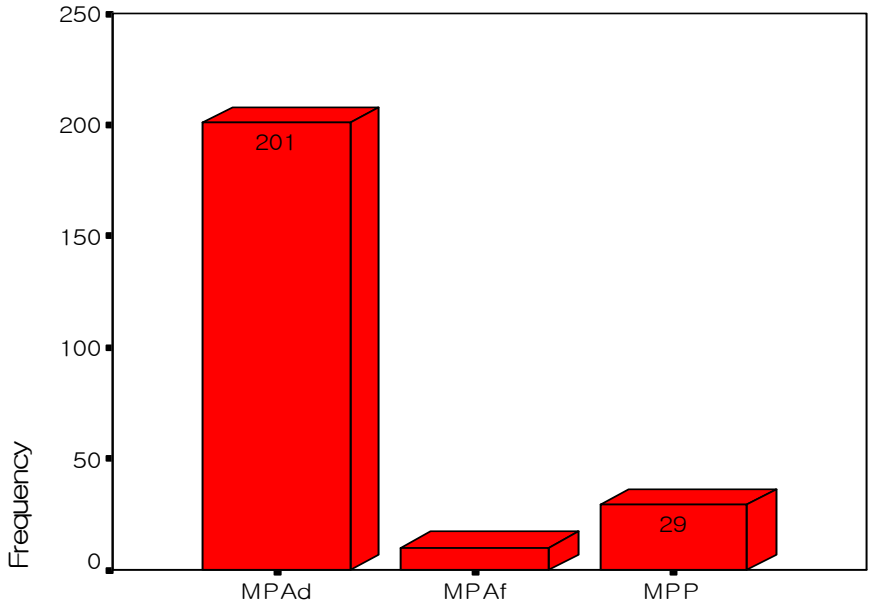
Figure 5-10 Mission: Policy Analysts



As expected, the MPAd (201; 83.8%) is the dominant degree type.[165] Only 10 (4.2%) programs offer the master of public affairs degree and 29 (12.1%) the MPP degree. (See Figure 5-11.)

[165]. Cleary (1990: 664) reported that 130 of 173 (75%) respondents named their masters degrees the MPA (the Master of Public Administration).

Figure 5-11 Degree Type



Program Design (Dependent Variables)

As the previous chapter discussed, curricular components and structure were the variables used to tap aspects of program design.

Curricular Components

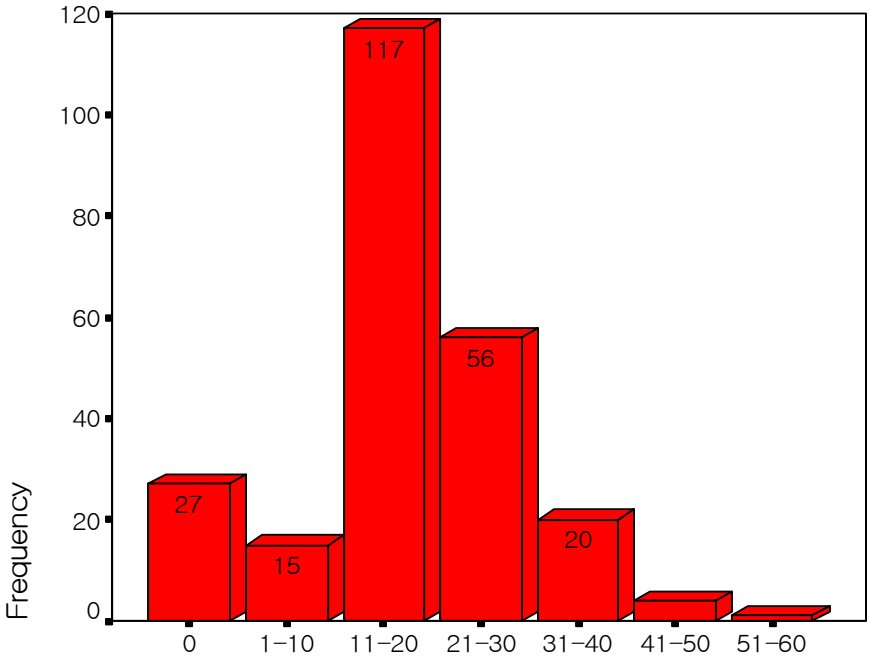
Curricular components were measured using the proportions of core credit hours required in courses in public administration, public management, public policy, specific levels of government, and methods. Table 5-4 contains descriptive statistics for these indicators.

The masters' programs in the sample require the highest proportion of core hours, on average, to be taken in public management (39%), followed by methods (21%), public policy (20%), and public administration (18%) courses. Table 5-4 also shows that the variations across the programs in the proportions of required core credit hours in public management and in public policy are larger than that for courses on specific levels of government. Indeed, some programs require as much as 71% and 78% of required core hours in public policy and management courses respectively; at the other extreme are the programs that include courses in neither area in the core.

Table 5-4 Summary Statistics: Proportions of Core Credit Hours in Public Administration, Public Management, Public Policy, Specific Level(s) of Government, and Methods Courses

	Proportion in PA courses	Proportion in PM courses	Proportion in PP courses	Proportion in levels of government courses	Proportion in methods courses
Mean	17.6691	38.9620	19.7772	2.1053	21.0434
Median	16.6667	40.0000	16.6667	0	20.0000
Mode	14.29	50.00	16.67	0	14.29
Standard Deviation	10.3004	14.7919	14.2433	5.6641	8.7581
Range	60.00	77.78	71.43	33.33	50.00
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum	60.00	77.78	71.43	33.33	50.00

Figure 5-12 Proportion of Core Hours: Public Administration Courses



In order to get a fuller sense of the variability in the programs' core curricula, Figures 5-12 through 5-16 trace the proportions of core hours required in specific areas. Almost half (117; 49%) of the programs, for example, require between 11 and 20% of core hours be taken in public administration courses, while close to one-quarter (56; 23%) require that 21-30% of core hours be in such classes (see Figure 5-12). Meanwhile, 154 (64%) of the programs allot between 31 and 50 percent of core hours to public

management courses respectively (see Figure 5-13). Nearly half (114; 48%) of the programs in the sample require between 11 and 20% of core hours be taken in public policy courses, while one-fifth (47; 19.6%) require 21-30% of core hours be in public policy courses (see Figure 5-14). Most programs (205; 85%) do not include any courses on specific level(s) of government in the required core (see Figure 5-15). Finally, similar to public policy, 107 (45%) programs require 11-20% of core hours be taken in methods classes (see Figure 5-16).

Figure 5-13 Proportion of Core Hours: Public Management Courses

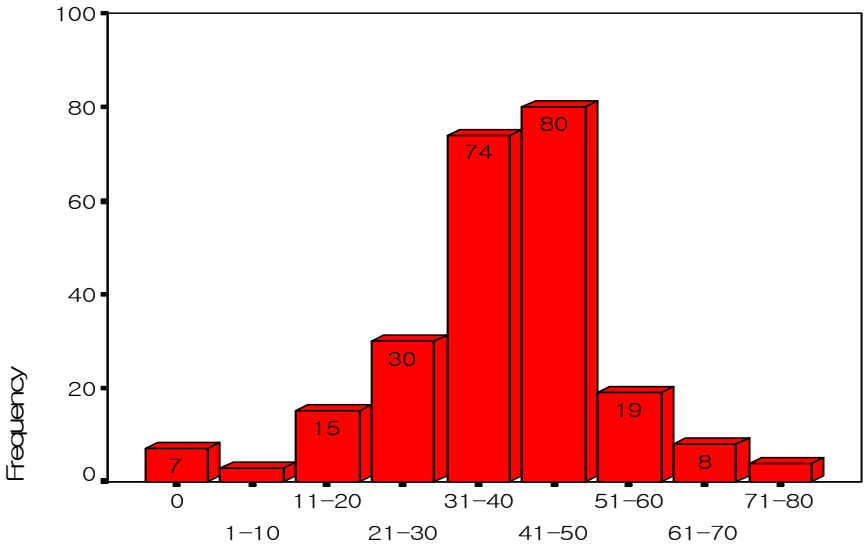


Figure 5-14 Proportion of Core Hours: Public Policy Courses

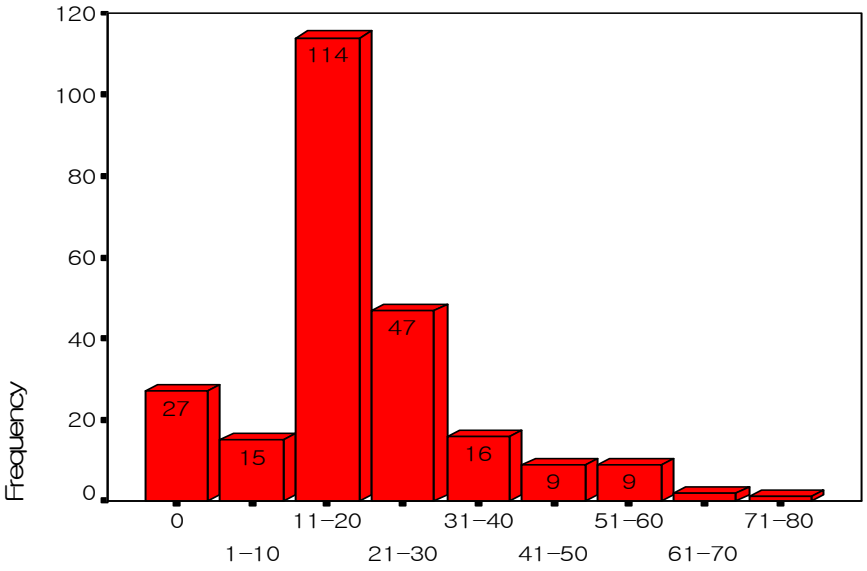


Figure 5-15 Proportion of Core Hours: Specific Level(s) of Government Courses

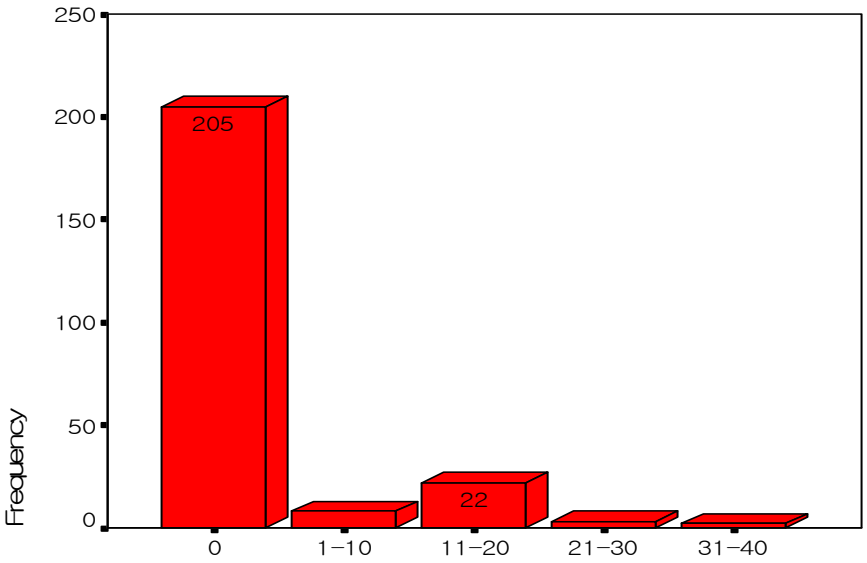
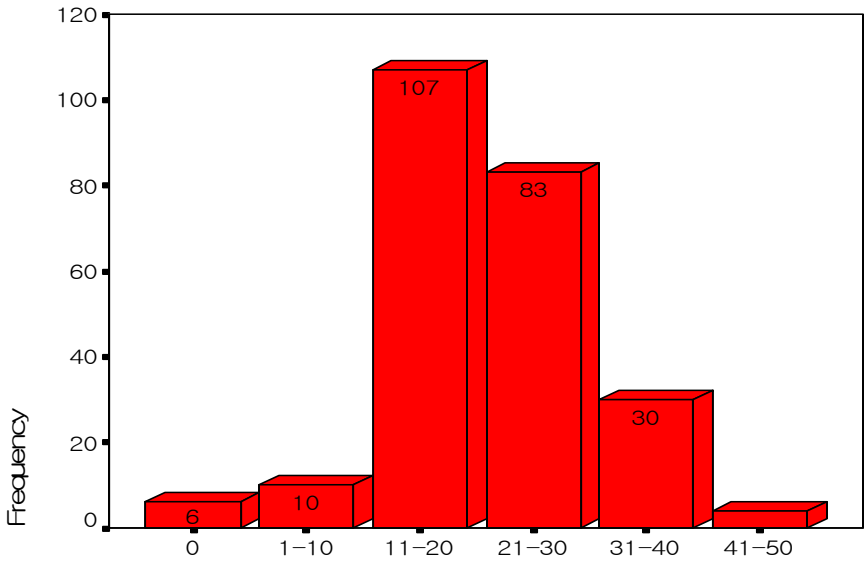


Figure 5-16 Proportion of Core Hours: Methods Courses



Roeder and Whitaker concluded: "Although no programs provide equal coverage of all components and some components on average receive more coverage than others, all components receive some coverage in the core curricula of all accredited programs" (1993: 515). In contrast, I found considerable variation in the coverage of core

components.[166] Some programs do not cover particular core curricular components at all. Nonetheless, I agree that "[d]espite some uncertainty and complexity regarding the precise content of curriculum components, the rankings do point out the curriculum components to which master's students in public affairs and administration will be more exposed…" (Roeder & Whitaker 1993: 520). I found that the programs in the sample tend to emphasize public management courses. This is consistent with the finding that 84% (201) of the programs call educating students to be public managers as their mission.

Curricular Structure

Curricular structure was tapped by three indicators: the number of total credit hours required to complete a program, the proportion of total credit hours in the core, and the number of concentration areas offered.

Table 5-5 Summary Statistics: Total Credit Hours, Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core, and Number of Concentration Areas

	Total credit hours	Proportion of total credit hours in core	Number of concentration areas
Mean	41.94	53.6547	3.73
Median	42.00	53.5897	4
Mode	42	50	0
Standard Deviation	5.52	11.0947	3.16
Range	34	73.41	16
Minimum	30	19.44	0
Maximum	64	92.86	16

Table 5-5 indicates that the programs in the sample require an average of 42 total credit hours, ranging from 30 to 64 hours.[167] Forty percent (95) of the programs require between 36 and 40 total hours, and 39% (92) require 41-45 hours; these results are quite similar to Cleary's (1990). (See Figure 5.17.)

[166]. Cleary also found considerable variation in core components. He reported that "[n]either a common core nor a consistent core pattern [wa]s evident in the respondent programs" (1990: 665).

[167]. This is the same range that Cleary (1990) found in his study.

Figure 5-17 Total Credit Hours

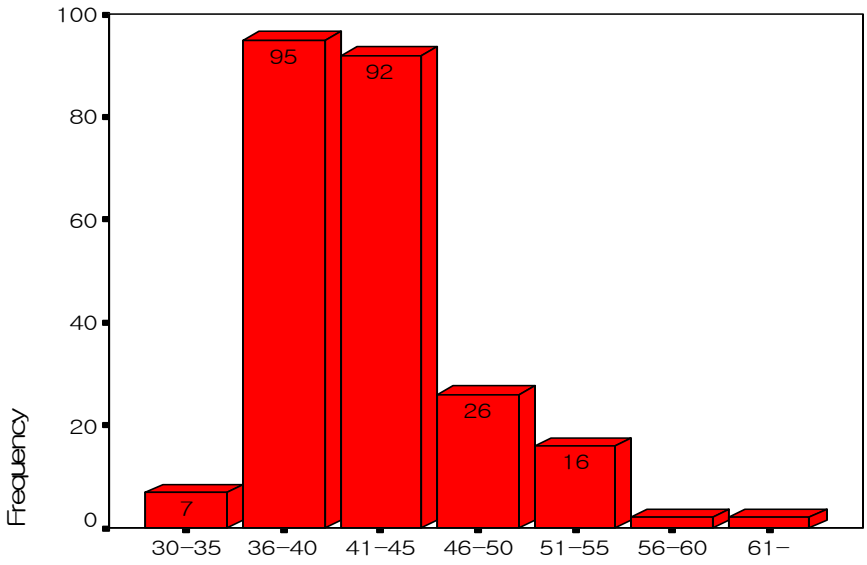
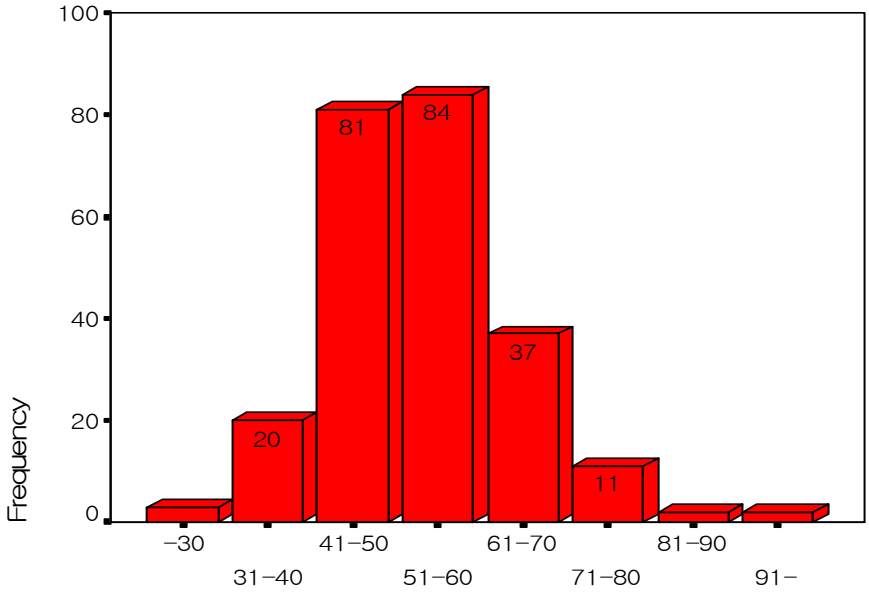


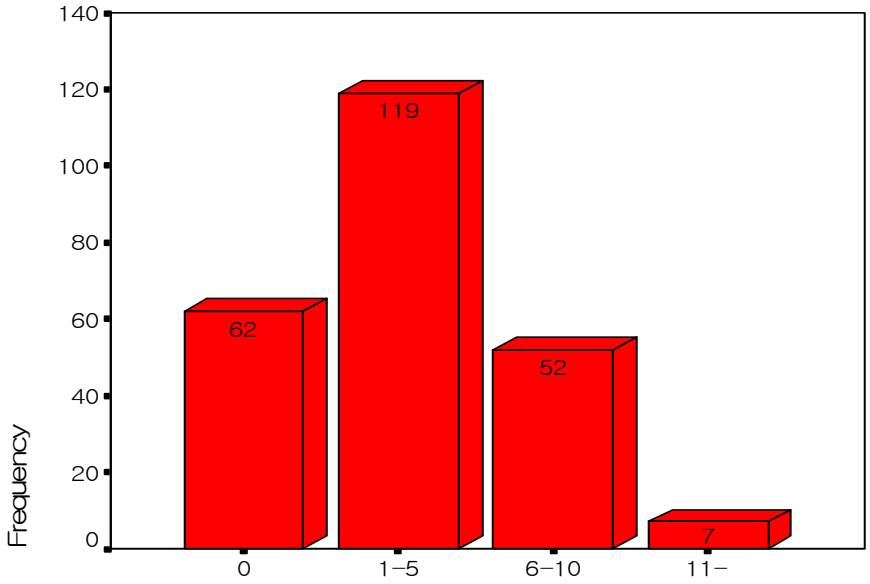
Table 5-5 also indicates that the masters' programs assign more than half (54%) of the total credit hours to core courses; the variability of this indicator is rather large, ranging from 19 to 93% (standard deviation = 11.1). Over two-thirds of the programs (165; 69%) require between 41 and 60% of the credit hours needed for a degree be taken in core courses (see Figure 5-18).

Figure 5-18 Proportion of Total Hours in Core



Finally, the masters' programs in the sample offer an average of four areas of concentrations, with a range of 0 to 16 concentrations.[168] It is worth noting, however, that 62 (26%) programs do not offer any concentrations. Instead, they provide elective courses. Overall, half (119; 49.6%) of the programs offer between 1 and 5 areas of concentration (see Figure 5-19).

Figure 5-19 Number of Concentrations



With this description of the masters' programs in the sample, attention turns next to testing the hypotheses introduced in Chapter Four.

Tests of the Hypotheses

A second empirical goal of the study was to examine *why* academic units design masters' programs as they do. As will be seen, the hypotheses fare relatively well.

[168]. Cleary reported that "[t]he mean number of specializations offered in these 140 programs is 4.89" (1990: 665), and the range was 1 to 13. The difference in the mean number of areas of concentration between Cleary's study and this one is in part because he excluded programs that did not offer any areas of concentration and that were affiliated with APPAM.

Multiple Institutional Logics and Organizational Belief Systems

Institutional Membership and Program Mission

I proposed three hypotheses about the possible relationships between institutional membership and program mission:

- Programs affiliated only with NASPAA are more likely to educate students to be public leaders (Hypothesis 1-1).
- Programs affiliated only with NASPAA are more likely to focus on training students to be public managers (Hypothesis 1-2).
- Programs affiliated only with APPAM are more likely to stress preparing students to be policy analysts (Hypothesis 1-3).

Table 5-6 Program Affiliation and Program Missions

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-squared
Program mission: public leaders	Between Groups	.444	2	.222	.889	.413	.000
	Within Groups	59.218	237	.250			
	Total	59.663	239				
Program mission: public managers	Between Groups	1.939	2	.969	7.477	.001	.059
	Within Groups	30.724	237	.130			
	Total	32.662	239				
Program mission: policy analysts	Between Groups	14.402	2	7.201	50.353	.000	.298
	Within Groups	33.894	237	.143			
	Total	48.296	239				

In these data, institutional membership has statistically significant relationships (at $p < .05$)[169] with the program missions of educating students to be public managers and of preparing students to be policy analysts, but not with that of producing public leaders.

[169]. In this study, the statistical significance of the relationships between variables was examined at the 95% confidence level.

(See Table 5-6.) Institutional membership is more strongly associated with the program mission of producing policy analysts (eta-squared = .298) than with that of training public managers (eta-squared = .059).[170]

Table 5-7 Program Affiliation and Program Mission: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Institutional Membership	(J) Institutional Membership			
Program mission: public leaders	NASPAA	APPAM	.23	.18	.620
		NASPAA and APPAM	4.37E-02	8.23E-02	1.000
	APPAM	NASPAA	-.23	.18	.620
		NASPAA and APPAM	-.18	.19	1.000
	NASPAA and APPAM	NASPAA	-4.37E-02	8.23E-02	1.000
		APPAM	.18	.19	1.000
Program mission: public managers	NASPAA	APPAM	.38*	.13	.011
		NASPAA and APPAM	.16*	5.93E-02	.018
	APPAM	NASPAA	-.38*	.13	.011
		NASPAA and APPAM	-.22	.14	.349
	NASPAA and APPAM	NASPAA	-.16*	5.93E-02	.018
		APPAM	.22	.14	.349
Program mission: policy analysts	NASPAA	APPAM	-.85*	.14	.000
		NASPAA and APPAM	-.52*	6.23E-02	.000
	APPAM	NASPAA	.85*	.14	.000
		NASPAA and APPAM	.33	.14	.076
	NASPAA and APPAM	NASPAA	.52*	6.23E-02	.000
		APPAM	-.33	.14	.076

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

[170]. Eta-squared is the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that the independent variable accounts for.

Similarly, no statistically significant mean differences in program missions appear among programs based on their institutional memberships in NASPAA or APPAM. (See Table 5-7.) Hypothesis 1-1 is rejected. Otherwise, programs affiliated only with NASPAA are more likely to have educating public managers as their program mission than are other programs. In contrast, programs affiliated only with NASPAA evidently are more reluctant to have preparing policy analysts as their program mission than are others. These findings support Hypotheses 1-2 and 1-3. In short, programs affiliated only with NASPAA are more likely to select training students to be public managers as their program mission, while those affiliated only with APPAM are more likely to focus on educating students to be policy analysts.

Institutional Membership and Degree Type

I also examined the relationships between institutional membership and degree type. Hypothesis 2-1 predicted that programs affiliated only with NASPAA would be more likely to offer MPAd degrees, while those affiliated only with APPAM would be more likely to offer MPP degrees. The data support both parts of the hypothesis. MPAd degrees are offered more often by programs affiliated only with NASPAA than they are by other programs, while MPP degrees tend to be more frequently given by programs affiliated only with APPAM than by those with other membership profiles. (See Table 5-8.) These relationships are moderately strong: institutional affiliation improves one's ability to predict degree type by between 15 and 31%.

Table 5-8 Degree Type by Institutional Membership

		Degree Type			Sig.
		MPAd	MPAf	MPP	
Institutional Membership	NASPAA	176 87.6%	6 60.0%	4 13.8%	.000
	APPAM	1 0.5%	0 0.0%	7 24.1%	
	NASPAA and APPAM	24 11.9%	4 40.0%	18 62.1%	
Lambda		.154			.032
Goodman and Kruskal tau		.306			.000
Uncertainty Coefficient		.293			.000

Multiple Institutional Logics and Program Design

Accreditation Status and Curricular Structure

Hypothesis 3-1 predicted that programs accredited by NASPAA would be likely to require more total credit hours than unaccredited programs. Yet, as Table 5-9 shows, there is no statistically significant difference in mean total hours between accredited and unaccredited programs. Regardless of accreditation status, the programs in the sample require similar numbers of total hours to complete their programs. Hypothesis 3-1 is rejected.

Table 5-9 Mean Differences: Total Credit Hours by Accreditation Status

		t	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Total credit hours in program	Equal variances assumed	-1.486	238	.138	1.06	.73

Institutional Membership, Accreditation Status, and Curricular Components

After categorizing the programs in the sample into the five groups indicating their institutional memberships and accreditation status, I suggested five hypotheses:

- Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses than are those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA (Hypothesis 4-1).
- Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA (Hypothesis 4-2).
- Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA (Hypothesis 4-3).

- Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours on courses in specific levels of government than are those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA (Hypothesis 4-4).
- Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in methods courses than are those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA (Hypothesis 4-5).

Table 5-10 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportions of Core Credit Hours in Particular Areas

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-squared
Proportion in Public Administration Courses	Between Groups	1517.127	4	379.282	3.739	.006	.060
	Within Groups	23840.170	235	101.448			
	Total	25357.297	239				
Proportion in Public Management Courses	Between Groups	16649.132	4	4162.283	27.442	.000	.318
	Within Groups	35644.370	235	151.678			
	Total	52293.503	239				
Proportion in Public Policy Courses	Between Groups	20954.610	4	5238.653	44.715	.000	.432
	Within Groups	27531.950	235	117.157			
	Total	48486.560	239				
Proportion in Specific Levels of Government Courses	Between Groups	230.762	4	57.691	1.823	.125	.030
	Within Groups	7436.721	235	31.646			
	Total	7667.484	239				
Proportion in Methods Courses	Between Groups	1694.094	4	423.523	5.982	.000	.102
	Within Groups	16638.279	235	70.801			
	Total	18332.373	239				

Five analyses of variance show initial support for four of the five hypotheses. (See Table 5-10.) Only the relationship between group category and the proportion of core

hours in courses on specific levels of government is not statistically significant (at $p < .05$). Of the remaining relationships, program grouping is more strongly associated with the proportions of core credit hours in public management (eta-squared = .318) and in public policy courses (eta-squared = .432) than in either public administration (eta-squared = .06) or methods courses (eta-squared = .102). Institutional membership and accreditation status appear especially influential in determining the extent to which core curricula emphasize courses in public management or in public policy.

The hypotheses also may be examined by comparing the five groups of programs on the proportions of core hours they require in courses in public administration, public management, public policy, specific levels of government, and methods. These hypotheses also predicted that the main differences would appear between Groups 1 (programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA) and 3 (programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA). Yet, as Table 5-11 indicates, there is no support for Hypothesis 4-1. Indeed, the only statistically significant difference in the mean proportion of core hours in public administration courses appears between Groups 2 and 4, not between Groups 1 and 3; programs affiliated with but not accredited by NASPAA require nearly 7% more core hours in public administration courses than do programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA.

Second, Hypothesis 4-2 predicted differences between programs in Groups 1 and 3 in the proportion of core hours required in public management courses. This hypothesis clearly is supported. (See Table 5-12) Compared with programs in Group 3, those in Group 1 require 32% more core hours in public management courses. Meanwhile, programs affiliated with but not accredited by NASPAA (Group 2) are quite similar (more than a 31% difference in hours compared to Group 3); Group 4 also differs, though less markedly, with Group 3 (mean difference = 20.8%).

Third, the differences between Groups 1 and 3 continue as attention shifts to public policy courses. Consistent with Hypothesis 4-3, programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than do programs affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA. (See Table 5-13.) Indeed, on this dependent variable, Groups 1 and 2 (NASPAA-affiliated programs) differ significantly from the other three types of programs.

Fourth, no statistically significant differences exist between any groups in requiring courses on specific levels of government in the core. (See Table 5-14.) Thus, Hypothesis 4-4 is rejected.

Finally, the expected difference between Groups 1 and 3 in the proportion of core credit hours devoted to methods courses appears, but the mean difference (8.3944) is only statistically significant at $p < .07$. (See Table 5-15.) The relationship is, however, in the predicted direction, with Group 1 programs requiring a lower proportion of core hours in such courses than Group 3 programs. There is at least weak support, then, for Hypothesis 4-5. At the same time, Group 2 programs also require a lower proportion of core hours in methods courses than do programs in Group 3, Group 4 (affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA), and Group 5 (affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM but unaccredited by NASPAA).

Table 5-11 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Administration Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Administration Courses	Group 1	Group 2	-2.72	1.49	.694
		Group 3	6.71	3.69	.705
		Group 4	4.01	2.09	.558
		Group 5	2.20	2.70	1.000
	Group 2	Group 1	2.72	1.49	.694
		Group 3	9.43	3.73	.122
		Group 4	6.72*	2.15	.020
		Group 5	4.92	2.76	.754
	Group 3	Group 1	-6.71	3.69	.705
		Group 2	-9.43	3.73	.122
		Group 4	-2.70	4.01	1.000
		Group 5	-4.51	4.36	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	-4.01	2.09	.558
		Group 2	-6.72*	2.15	.020
		Group 3	2.70	4.01	1.000
		Group 5	-1.80	3.12	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	-2.20	2.70	1.000
		Group 2	-4.92	2.76	.754
		Group3	4.51	4.36	1.000
		Group 4	1.80	3.12	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5-12 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Management Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Management Courses	Group 1	Group 2	.9297	1.8213	1.000
		Group 3	32.0619*	4.5171	.000
		Group 4	11.2141*	2.5496	.000
		Group 5	23.9680*	3.3052	.000
	Group 2	Group 1	-.9297	1.8213	1.000
		Group 3	31.1322*	4.5642	.000
		Group 4	10.2845*	2.6322	.001
		Group 5	23.0383*	3.3693	.000
	Group 3	Group 1	-32.0619*	4.5171	.000
		Group 2	-31.1322*	4.5642	.000
		Group 4	-20.8478*	4.9006	.000
		Group 5	-8.0939	5.3329	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	-11.2141*	2.5496	.000
		Group 2	-10.2845*	2.6322	.001
		Group 3	20.8478*	4.9006	.000
		Group 5	12.7538*	3.8126	.010
	Group 5	Group 1	-23.9680*	3.3052	.000
		Group 2	-23.0383*	3.3693	.000
		Group3	8.0939	5.3329	1.000
		Group 4	-12.7538*	3.8126	.010

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5-13 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Policy Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Policy Courses	Group 1	Group 2	-.5651	1.6007	1.000
		Group 3	-39.1796*	3.9699	.000
		Group 4	-12.6597*	2.2408	.000
		Group 5	-23.8035*	2.9048	.000
	Group 2	Group 1	.5651	1.6007	1.000
		Group 3	-38.6145*	4.0114	.000
		Group 4	-12.0946*	2.3134	.000
		Group 5	-23.2384*	2.9612	.000
	Group 3	Group 1	39.1796*	3.9699	.000
		Group 2	38.6145*	4.0114	.000
		Group 4	26.5198*	4.3070	.000
		Group 5	15.3761*	4.6869	.012
	Group 4	Group 1	12.6597*	2.2408	.000
		Group 2	12.0946*	2.3134	.000
		Group 3	-26.5198*	4.3070	.000
		Group 5	-11.1438*	3.3508	.010
	Group 5	Group 1	23.8035*	2.9048	.000
		Group 2	23.2384*	2.9612	.000
		Group3	-15.3761*	4.6869	.012
		Group 4	11.1438*	3.3508	.010

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5-14 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportions of Core Hours in Courses on Specific Levels of Government: Mean Comparisons

Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Proportion of Core Hours in Courses on Specific Levels of Government	Group 1	Group 2	-1.5282	.8319	.675
		Group 3	1.8051	2.0633	1.000
		Group 4	.5274	1.1646	1.000
		Group 5	1.3422	1.5097	1.000
	Group 2	Group 1	1.5282	.8319	.675
		Group 3	3.3333	2.0848	1.000
		Group 4	2.0555	1.2023	.887
		Group 5	2.8703	1.5390	.634
	Group 3	Group 1	-1.8051	2.0633	1.000
		Group 2	-3.3333	2.0848	1.000
		Group 4	-1.2778	2.2384	1.000
		Group 5	-.4630	2.4359	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	-.5274	1.1646	1.000
		Group 2	-2.0555	1.2023	.887
		Group 3	1.2778	2.2384	1.000
		Group 5	.8148	1.7415	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	-1.3422	1.5097	1.000
		Group 2	-2.8703	1.5390	.634
		Group3	.4630	2.4359	1.000
		Group 4	-.8148	1.7415	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

Table 5-15 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportions of Core Hours in Methods Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Methods Courses	Group 1	Group 2	2.7216	1.2443	.297
		Group 3	-8.3944	3.0862	.070
		Group 4	-2.3129	1.7419	1.000
		Group 5	-4.8097	2.2582	.342
	Group 2	Group 1	-2.7216	1.2443	.297
		Group 3	-11.1159*	3.1184	.004
		Group 4	-5.0345	1.7984	.055
		Group 5	-7.5312*	2.3020	.012
	Group 3	Group 1	8.3944	3.0862	.070
		Group 2	11.1159*	3.1184	.004
		Group 4	6.0815	3.3482	.706
		Group 5	3.5847	3.6435	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	2.3129	1.7419	1.000
		Group 2	5.0345	1.7984	.055
		Group 3	-6.0815	3.3482	.706
		Group 5	-2.4968	2.6048	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	4.8097	2.2582	.342
		Group 2	7.5312*	2.3020	.012
		Group3	-3.5847	3.6435	1.000
		Group 4	2.4968	2.6048	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Organizational Positions and Program Designs

Organizational Setting and Curricular Components

Chapter Four suggested five hypotheses about the possible relationships between organizational settings and curricular components:

- Programs located in political science, public affairs, and public administration units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours to be taken in public administration courses than are those in public policy units (Hypothesis 5-1).
- Programs located in public affairs, public administration, and business units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are those in public policy units (Hypothesis 5-2).
- Programs located in political science, public affairs, and public administration units are likely to require a lower proportion of core hours assigned to public policy courses than are those in public policy units (Hypothesis 5-3).
- Programs located in public affairs and public administration units are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government than are those in public policy units (Hypothesis 5-4).
- Programs located in political science, public affairs, and public administration units are likely to require a lower proportion of core hours in methods courses than are those in public policy units (Hypothesis 5-5).

An analysis-of-variance provides a "first cut" look at the predicted relationships between organizational setting and curricular requirements (see Table 5-16). The specific kind of unit in which a program is lodged appears to be related to core requirements (at least at $p < .05$) in three of the five curricular areas (and the relationship is close to being statistically significant in the fourth, proportion of public administration courses in the core). Yet, none of the statistically significant relationships is very strong; organizational setting accounts for approximately 20% and 16% of the variation in the proportions of core hours in public policy and public management courses respectively; it explains less than 6% of the variation in the proportion of core hours in methods courses.

Table 5-16 Organizational Settings and Proportions of Core Credit Hours in Particular Areas

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-squared
Proportion of Hours in Public Administration Courses	Between Groups	967.089	4	241.772	2.329	.057	.038
	Within Groups	24390.208	235	103.788			
	Total	25357.297	239				
Proportion of Hours in Public Management Courses	Between Groups	8531.435	4	2132.859	11.453	.000	.163
	Within Groups	43762.068	235	186.222			
	Total	52293.503	239				
Proportion of Hours in Public Policy Courses	Between Groups	9471.522	4	2367.880	14.262	.000	.195
	Within Groups	39015.038	235	166.021			
	Total	48486.560	239				
Proportion of Hours in Courses on Specific Levels of Government	Between Groups	220.237	4	55.059	1.737	.142	.029
	Within Groups	7447.247	235	31.690			
	Total	7667.484	239				
Proportion of Hours in Methods Courses	Between Groups	1086.264	4	271.566	3.700	.006	.059
	Within Groups	17246.108	235	73.388			
	Total	18332.373	239				

Investigating specific differences between the five core components and varying organizational settings lends additional insight. First, very few statistically significant differences appear among the five organizational settings in the proportion of required core credit hours to be taken in courses in public administration[171] (see Table 5-17) or on specific levels of government (see Table 5-18). Programs in political science departments differ from those located in public policy units in the proportion of core credit hours

[171]. Although no statistically significant differences exist among the three organizational settings in the proportions of core hours required in public administration courses, it is worth noting that business units are likely to require the highest proportion of hours, followed by public administration and public policy units.

required in public administration courses, with the former requiring 5.5% more hours. Yet, even this relationship is only significant at $p < .065$, providing rather weak support for Hypothesis 5-1. Similarly, none of the mean differences among the five organizational settings in the proportion of core hours required in courses on specific levels of government is statistically significant at $p < .05$, which leads to the rejection of Hypothesis 5-4.

Table 5-17 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Administration Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Administration Courses	PS	PAd	3.3389	1.9772	.926
		PAf	2.8659	1.9405	1.000
		PP	5.4862	1.9968	.065
		B & M	.6659	2.0388	1.000
	PAd	PS	-3.3389	1.9772	.926
		PAf	-.4730	2.3380	1.000
		PP	2.1473	2.3850	1.000
		B & M	-2.6730	2.4203	1.000
	PAf	PS	-2.8659	1.9405	1.000
		PAd	.4730	2.3380	1.000
		PP	2.6203	2.3546	1.000
		B & M	-2.2000	2.3904	1.000
	PP	PS	-5.4862	1.9968	.065
		PAd	-2.1473	2.3850	1.000
		PAf	-2.6203	2.3546	1.000
		B & M	-4.8202	2.4363	.490
	B & M	PS	-.6659	2.0388	1.000
		PAd	2.6730	2.4203	1.000
		PAf	2.2000	2.3904	1.000
		PP	4.8202	2.4363	.490

Table 5-18 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Core Hours in Courses on Specific Levels of Government: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Courses on Specific Levels of Government	PS	PAd	1.7463	1.0925	1.000
		PAf	-.2223	1.0722	1.000
		PP	2.3664	1.1034	.330
		B & M	.5448	1.1266	1.000
	PAd	PS	-1.7463	1.0925	1.000
		PAf	-1.9686	1.2919	1.000
		PP	.6201	1.3179	1.000
		B & M	-1.2015	1.3374	1.000
	PAf	PS	.2223	1.0722	1.000
		PAd	1.9686	1.2919	1.000
		PP	2.5887	1.3011	.478
		B & M	.7671	1.3209	1.000
	PP	PS	-2.3664	1.1034	.330
		PAd	-.6201	1.3179	1.000
		PAf	-2.5887	1.3011	.478
		B & M	-1.8215	1.3462	1.000
	B & M	PS	-.5448	1.1266	1.000
		PAd	1.2015	1.3374	1.000
		PAf	-.7671	1.3209	1.000
		PP	1.8215	1.3462	1.000

Second, programs lodged in public affairs, public administration, and business units require 3.4%, 14.3%, and 15.1% more core hours in public management courses than do those in public policy units (see Table 5-19). Of these, statistically significant mean differences appeared between programs in public policy settings and those in business and public administration units. Hypothesis 5-2 is conditionally accepted. Although they were not included in the hypothesis, programs in political science departments also required a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management than did those in public policy units, bearing a close resemblance to public administration units.

Table 5-19 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Management Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Management Courses	PS	Pad	-4.5805E-02	2.6484	1.000
		PAf	10.8838*	2.5992	.000
		PP	14.2695*	2.6747	.000
		B & M	-.8140	2.7310	1.000
	PAd	PS	4.581E-02	2.6484	1.000
		PAf	10.9296*	3.1318	.006
		PP	14.3154*	3.1947	.000
		B & M	-.7682	3.2419	1.000
	PAf	PS	-10.8838*	2.5992	.000
		Pad	-10.9296*	3.1318	.006
		PP	3.3857	3.1540	1.000
		B & M	-11.6978*	3.2019	.003
	PP	PS	-14.2695*	2.6747	.000
		Pad	-14.3154*	3.1947	.000
		PAf	-3.3857	3.1540	1.000
		B & M	-15.0836*	3.2634	.000
	B & M	PS	.8140	2.7310	1.000
		Pad	.7682	3.2419	1.000
		PAf	11.6978*	3.2019	.003
		PP	15.0836*	3.2634	.000

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Third, as expected, programs in public policy units require a higher proportion of core hours to be devoted to public policy courses than do those in any of the other settings (see Table 5-20). These differences range from 11.6 to 18.1 percent and all are statistically significant at the .05 level. There is clear support for Hypothesis 5-3.

Table 5- 20 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Core Hours in Public Policy Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Public Policy Courses	PS	PAd	-1.4734	2.5007	1.000
		PAf	-6.5256	2.4542	.084
		PP	-18.0977*	2.5254	.000
		B & M	-.8772	2.5786	1.000
	PAd	PS	1.4734	2.5007	1.000
		PAf	-5.0522	2.9570	.889
		PP	-16.6243*	3.0164	.000
		B & M	.5962	3.0611	1.000
	PAf	PS	6.5256	2.4542	.084
		PAd	5.0522	2.9570	.889
		PP	-11.5721*	2.9780	.001
		B & M	5.6484	3.0232	.630
	PP	PS	18.0977*	2.5254	.000
		PAd	16.6243*	3.0164	.000
		PAf	11.5721*	2.9780	.001
		B & M	17.2205*	3.0813	.000
	B & M	PS	.8772	2.5786	1.000
		PAd	-.5962	3.0611	1.000
		PAf	-5.6484	3.0232	.630
		PP	-17.2205*	3.0813	.000

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Finally, compared with programs in public policy units, those in political science, public affairs, and public administration settings require a lower proportion of core credit hours to be taken in methods courses. (See Table 5-21.) Yet, none of the mean differences between these programs is statistically significant even at the 90% confidence level, which leads to the rejection of Hypothesis 5-5. The hypothesis also failed to predict the one statistically significant mean difference that did emerge between programs in business and public policy units; the latter require over 7% more core credit hours in methods than the former ($p < .006$).

Table 5-21 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Core Hours in Methods Courses: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Core Hours in Methods Courses	PS	PAd	-.8392	1.6626	1.000
		PAf	-2.5956	1.6317	1.000
		PP	-4.2890	1.6791	.113
		B & M	2.8867	1.7144	.935
	PAd	PS	.8392	1.6626	1.000
		PAf	-1.7563	1.9660	1.000
		PP	-3.4498	2.0055	.867
		B & M	3.7260	2.0352	.684
	PAf	PS	2.5956	1.6317	1.000
		PAd	1.7563	1.9660	1.000
		PP	-1.6934	1.9800	1.000
		B & M	5.4823	2.0100	.069
	PP	PS	4.2890	1.6791	.113
		PAd	3.4498	2.0055	.867
		PAf	1.6934	1.9800	1.000
		B & M	7.1757*	2.0487	.006
	B & M	PS	-2.8867	1.7144	.935
		PAd	-3.7260	2.0352	.684
		PAf	-5.4823	2.0100	.069
		PP	-7.1757*	2.0487	.006

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Organizational Setting and Curricular Structure

Chapter 4 introduced three hypotheses about possible relationships between organizational setting and curricular structure:

- Programs lodged in political science units are likely to require a smaller number of total credit hours than programs housed in public policy and business units (Hypothesis 5-6).
- Programs located in business units are likely to require a higher proportion of total credit hours be taken in core courses than programs lodged in other units (Hypothesis 5-7).

- Programs located in public policy units are likely to offer a larger number of areas of concentration than are programs housed in political science units (Hypothesis 5-8).

The initial results of three analyses of variance indicate that organizational setting has statistically significant relationships with all three dependent variables (see Table 5-22). The strengths of such associations are weak, however; organizational setting never explains more than 9% of the variation in the three dependent variables.

Table 5-22 Organizational Settings and Curricular Structure

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-Squared
Total Credit Hours	Between Groups	627.427	4	156.857	5.538	.000	.086
	Within Groups	6656.369	235	28.325			
	Total	7283.796	239				
Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core	Between Groups	.206	4	5.149E-02	4.423	.002	.070
	Within Groups	2.736	235	1.164E-02			
	Total	2.942	239				
Number of Concentration Areas	Between Groups	170.140	4	42.535	4.524	.002	.071
	Within Groups	2209.710	235	9.403			
	Total	2379.850	239				

These results suggest that the number of required total credit hours, the proportion of total credit hours in the core, and the number of concentration areas differ depending on where a program is located. Yet, the hypotheses predict more specific relationships. To investigate these, I compared the means of each of the three indicators across different organizational settings. First, programs in political science units require fewer total credit hours than do those in both public policy and business units; only the first difference, however, is statistically significant. (See Table 5-23.) Hypothesis 5-6 is partially supported. Second, programs in business units require a higher proportion of total credit hours be taken in core courses than do those in the other four types of unit; in particular, programs lodged in business units place 10% more of their total required hours in the

core than do those in public affairs settings (see Table 5-24). This is consistent with Hypothesis 5-7. Finally, programs in public policy units offer more areas of concentration than do political science (mean difference = 2.21, $p < .003$) and business (mean difference = 2.62, $p < .004$) units. (See Table 5-25.) Hypothesis 5-8 is accepted.

Table 5-23 Organizational Setting and Total Credit Hours: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Total Credit Hours	PS	PAd	-.18	1.03	1.000
		PAf	-4.03*	1.01	.001
		PP	-3.08*	1.04	.034
		B & M	-2.11	1.07	.484
	PAd	PS	.18	1.03	1.000
		PAf	-3.85*	1.22	.018
		PP	-2.91	1.25	.205
		B & M	-1.94	1.26	1.000
	PAf	PS	4.03*	1.01	.001
		PAd	3.85*	1.22	.018
		PP	.94	1.23	1.000
		B & M	1.91	1.25	1.000
	PP	PS	3.08*	1.04	.034
		PAd	2.91	1.25	.205
		PAf	-.94	1.23	1.000
		B & M	.97	1.27	1.000
	B & M	PS	2.11	1.07	.484
		PAd	1.94	1.26	1.000
		PAf	-1.91	1.25	1.000
		PP	-.97	1.27	1.000

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Table 5-24 Organizational Setting and Proportion of Total Hours in Core: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Total Hours in Core	PS	PAd	6.010E-03	2.094E-02	1.000
		PAf	4.468E-02	2.055E-02	.307
		PP	9.345E-03	2.115E-02	1.000
		B & M	-6.0364E-02	2.159E-02	.056
	PAd	PS	-6.0101E-03	2.094E-02	1.000
		PAf	3.867E-02	2.476E-02	1.000
		PP	3.335E-03	2.526E-02	1.000
		B & M	-6.6374E-02	2.563E-02	.102
	PAf	PS	-4.4682E-02	2.055E-02	.307
		PAd	-3.8672E-02	2.476E-02	1.000
		PP	-3.5337E-02	2.494E-02	1.000
		B & M	-.1050	2.532E-02	.000
	PP	PS	-9.3448E-03	2.115E-02	1.000
		PAd	-3.3347E-03	2.526E-02	1.000
		PAf	3.534E-02	2.494E-02	1.000
		B & M	-6.9709E-02	2.580E-02	.074
	B & M	PS	6.036E-02	2.159E-02	.056
		PAd	6.637E-02	2.563E-02	.102
		PAf	.1050*	2.532E-02	.000
		PP	6.971E-02	2.580E-02	.074

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Table 5-25 Organizational Setting and Number of Concentration Areas: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Number of Concentration Areas	PS	PAd	-.63	.60	1.000
		PAf	-1.08	.58	.668
		PP	-2.21*	.60	.003
		B & M	.42	.61	1.000
	PAd	PS	.63	.60	1.000
		PAf	-.45	.70	1.000
		PP	-1.58	.72	.289
		B & M	1.05	.73	1.000
	PAf	PS	1.08	.58	.668
		PAd	.45	.70	1.000
		PP	-1.13	.71	1.000
		B & M	1.49	.72	.392
	PP	PS	2.21*	.60	.003
		PAd	1.58	.72	.289
		PAf	1.13	.71	1.000
		B & M	2.62*	.73	.004
	B & M	PS	-.42	.61	1.000
		PAd	-1.05	.73	1.000
		PAf	-1.49	.72	.392
		PP	-2.62*	.73	.004

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

University Type and Curricular Structure

To examine the relationship between university type and curricular structure, I hypothesized that programs in private universities would be likely to offer a larger number of concentration areas than those in public universities (Hypothesis 6-1). Yet, in the sample here, the mean difference in the number of concentrations between public and private universities (.90) just misses being statistically significant ($t = 1.756$, $p = .08$). Hypothesis 6-1 is rejected.

Program Reputation and Curricular Structure

I also investigated possible ties between program reputation and curricular structure by tapping the numbers of total credit hours required and of concentration areas

offered. Programs ranked in the upper-tier were expected to require a larger number of total credit hours than programs in the lower-tier (Hypothesis 7-1); these upper-tier programs also were predicted to offer a larger number of areas of concentration than programs in the lower-tier (Hypothesis 7-2).

Table 5-26 shows support for both hypotheses. Programs ranked in the upper-tier require almost four more total credit hours and offer at least three more concentration areas than do those in the lower-tier. Therefore, Hypotheses 7-1 and 7-2 are accepted.

Table 5-26 Mean Differences: Numbers of Total Credit Hours and of Concentration Areas by Program Reputation

		t	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Number of Total Credit Hours	Equal variances assumed	-4.509	238	.000	3.75	.83
Number of Concentration Areas	Equal variances assumed	-6.847	238	.000	3.10	.45

Period of Program Founding and Curricular Components and Structure

To tap possible ties between the period of program founding and program design, I proposed four hypotheses:

- Programs founded in 1970 or later are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management courses than are programs established in 1969 or earlier (Hypothesis 8-1).
- Programs founded in 1969 or earlier are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses than are programs established in 1970 or later (Hypothesis 8-2).
- Programs established in 1969 or earlier are likely to require more total credit hours than programs founded in 1970 or later (Hypothesis 8-3).
- Programs established in 1969 or earlier are likely to offer more areas of concentration than programs founded in 1970 or later (Hypothesis 8-4).

Bivariate regression analyses of the hypotheses yield mixed results (see Table 5-27). The time programs were first founded has a positive, statistically significant effect on the proportion of core hours in required public management courses. Newer programs (founded in 1970 and after) require about 4.7% more public management hours in the core than do those created in 1969 or earlier. This is consistent with Hypothesis 8-1. The relationship is fairly weak, however; founding period accounts for only around 2% of the variation in the proportion of core hours in public management courses. The data offer little support for Hypothesis 8-2; the relationship between the period of founding and the proportion of core hours in public policy courses is not statistically significant. Meanwhile, the final two hypotheses are confirmed. The period of founding has positive, statistically significant relationships with both numbers of total hours and of concentration areas; older programs require approximately two more credit hours in total and offer at least one more concentration than do newer programs. Yet, both of these relationships are quite weak; each explains only about 3% of the variance in numbers of total credit hours and concentrations areas.

Table 5-27 Proportions of Core Credit Hours in Public Management and Public Policy, Number of Total Credit Hours, and Number of Concentration Areas by Founding Year

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables			
Founding Period	Proportion of Core Hours in Public Management Courses	Proportion of Core Hours in Public Policy Courses	Total Credit Hours	Concentration Areas
r^2	.020	.007	.031	.031
F	3.573	1.248	5.710	5.792
Sig.	.060	.265	.018	.017
B	4.652*	-2.725	-2.040*	-1.295*
Std. Error	2.461	2.439	.854	.538
Beta	-.140*	.083	.176*	.177*

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Organizational Belief Systems and Programs Designs

Program Mission and Curricular Components and Structure

To explore the possible relationships between the educational missions of programs and curricular components and structure, I introduced five hypotheses. I predicted that programs whose missions are to educate students to be public leaders would be likely both to require a higher proportion of core hours in public administration courses (Hypothesis 9-1) and to require a higher proportion of total hours be taken in core courses than other programs (Hypothesis 9-2).

There is a statistically significant mean difference in the proportion of required core hours in public administration courses between programs whose missions are to generate public leaders and others; those with this mission require over 4% more core hours in such courses. Hypothesis 9-1 is accepted. Otherwise, no statistically significant mean difference in the proportion of total hours in the core appeared between the two groups. Accordingly, Hypothesis 9-2 is rejected.

Table 5-28 Mean Differences: Proportion of Core Credit Hours in Public Administration and Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core by Program Mission of Producing Public Leaders

		t	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Proportion of core hours in public administration	Equal variances assumed	-3.317	238	.001	4.33*	1.31
Proportion of total credit hours in core	Equal variances assumed	-.382	238	.703	.27	.72

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

I also suggested that programs whose missions are to educate students to be public managers would be likely to require a higher proportion of core hours to be taken in public management courses than programs with other missions (Hypothesis 9-3). Table 5-29 indicates that a statistically significant mean difference does exist. In fact, programs whose missions are to prepare students to be public managers require about 7.5% more core hours in such courses than do others. Hypothesis 9-3 is confirmed.

Table 5-29 Mean Differences: Proportion of Core Credit Hours in Public Management by Program Mission of Producing Public Managers

		t	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Proportion of core hours in public management	Equal variances assumed	-2.939	238	.004	7.4886*	2.5478

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Lastly, I predicted that programs whose missions are to train students to be policy analysts would be more likely to require a higher proportion of core hours in public policy courses (Hypothesis 9-4) and to offer more areas of concentration than others (Hypothesis 9-5). The results support both hypotheses (see Table 5-30). Programs whose missions are to produce policy analysts require almost 15% more core credit hours in public policy courses and offer over one more concentration than do other programs.

Table 5-30 Mean Differences: Proportion of Core Credit Hours in Public Policy and Number of Concentration Areas by the Program Mission of Producing Policy Analysts

		t	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Proportion of core hours in public policy	Equal variances assumed	-8.212	238	.000	14.8884*	1.8130
Number of Concentration Areas	Equal variances assumed	-2.699	238	.007	1.21*	.45

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Degree Types and Curricular Components

To tap the possible relationships between degree type and curricular components, I proposed five hypotheses:

- MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-1)
- MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in public management than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-2)

- MPAd programs are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in public policy than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-3)
- MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of core credit hours in specific levels of government than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-4)
- MPAd programs are likely to require a lower proportion of core credit hours in methods than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-5).

Table 5-31 Degree Type and Proportions of Core Credit Hours Required in Public Administration, Public Management, Public Policy, Specific Levels of Government, and Methods Courses

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-squared
Proportion of core hours in PA courses	Between Groups	958.119	2	479.059	4.653	.010	.004
	Within Groups	24399.179	237	102.950			
	Total	25357.297	239				
Proportion of core hours in PM courses	Between Groups	14171.719	2	7085.860	44.052	.000	.271
	Within Groups	38121.783	237	160.851			
	Total	52293.503	239				
Proportion of core hours in PP courses	Between Groups	13832.157	2	6916.079	47.299	.000	.285
	Within Groups	34654.403	237	146.221			
	Total	48486.560	239				
Proportion of core hours in courses on specific levels of government	Between Groups	127.193	2	63.597	1.999	.138	.016
	Within Groups	7540.290	237	31.816			
	Total	7667.484	239				
Proportion of core hours in methods courses	Between Groups	1382.989	2	691.494	9.669	.000	.075
	Within Groups	16949.384	237	71.516			
	Total	18332.373	239				

Table 5-31 shows that degree type is more strongly associated with the proportions of core hours in public management (eta-squared = .271) and public policy

(eta-squared = .285) than with those in public administration (eta-squared = .004) and methods (eta-squared = .075); yet, the relationship with core hours in courses on specific levels of government fails to reach the significance threshold.

Table 5-32 Mean Comparisons: Degree Type and Proportions of Core Credit Hours Required in Public Administration, Public Management, Public Policy, Specific Levels of Government, and Methods Courses

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Degree type	(J) Degree type			
Proportion of core hours in PA courses	MPAd	MPAf	-2.42	3.29	1.000
		MPP	5.83*	2.02	.012
	MPAf	MPAd	2.42	3.29	1.000
		MPP	8.25	3.72	.083
	MPP	MPA	-5.83*	2.02	.012
		MPAf	-8.25	3.72	.083
Proportion of core hours in PM courses	MPAd	MPAf	18.2785*	4.1092	.000
		MPP	21.6271*	2.5193	.000
	MPAf	MPAd	-18.2785*	4.1092	.000
		MPP	3.3487	4.6510	1.000
	MPP	MPA	-21.6271*	2.5193	.000
		MPAf	-3.3487	4.6510	1.000
Proportion of core hours in PP courses	MPAd	MPAf	-10.6492*	3.9179	.021
		MPP	-22.8688*	2.4020	.000
	MPAf	MPAd	10.6492*	3.9179	.021
		MPP	-12.2196*	4.4344	.019
	MPP	MPA	22.8688*	2.4020	.000
		MPAf	12.2196*	4.4344	.019
Proportion of core hours in courses on specific levels of government	MPAd	MPAf	-2.8626	1.8275	.356
		MPP	1.2525	1.1204	.794
	MPAf	MPAd	2.8626	1.8275	.356
		MPP	4.1151	2.0685	.143
	MPP	MPA	-1.2525	1.1204	.794
		MPAf	-4.1151	2.0685	.143
Proportion of core hours in methods courses	MPAd	MPAf	-2.9253	2.7400	.860
		MPP	-7.2833*	1.6798	.000
	MPAf	MPAd	2.9253	2.7400	.860
		MPP	-4.3580	3.1012	.484
	MPP	MPA	7.2833*	1.6798	.000
		MPAf	4.3580	3.1012	.484

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

The five hypotheses, however, involve narrower comparisons – between programs offering the MPAd degree and those granting MPPs. The results of mean comparisons between the degree types are summarized in Table 5-32; they provide support for all but one of the hypotheses. First, MPAd programs require almost 6 % more core credit hours to be taken in public administration courses than do MPP programs. Second, MPAd programs require considerably more core credit hours in public management than do MPP programs (mean difference = 21.6271, $p < .000$). Third, in contrast, MPP programs require more core credit hours in public policy than MPAd programs (mean difference = 22.869, $p < .000$). Fourth, none of the mean differences between the degree types in requiring core hours in courses on specific levels of government is statistically significant. Finally, MPAd programs require over 7% fewer core hours to be taken in methods courses than do MPP programs. These findings provide support for all of the hypotheses except Hypothesis 10-4.

Degree Type and Curricular Structure

I also suggested several hypotheses about relationships between degree type and curricular structure:

- MPAd programs are likely to require fewer total credit hours in the curriculum than are MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-6)
- MPAd programs are likely to require a higher proportion of total credit hours be taken in core courses than are MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-7)
- MPAd programs are likely to offer fewer areas of concentration than MPP programs (Hypothesis 10-8).

In general, the type of degree has statistically significant relationships with all three dependent variables (see Table 5-33). The associations are fairly weak, however; degree type accounts for less than ten percent of the variation in total credit hours (eta-squared = .040), proportion of total hours in the core curriculum (eta-squared = .041), and number of concentrations (eta-squared = .060).

Table 5-33 Degree Type, Total Credit Hours, Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core, and Number of Concentration Areas

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Eta-squared
Total Credit Hours	Between Groups	287.741	2	143.870	4.874	.008	.040
	Within Groups	6996.056	237	29.519			
	Total	7283.796	239				
Proportion of Total Hours in Core	Between Groups	1209.835	2	604.917	5.082	.007	.041
	Within Groups	28209.372	237	119.027			
	Total	29419.206	239				
Number of Concentration Areas	Between Groups	146.020	2	73.010	7.746	.001	.060
	Within Groups	2233.830	237	9.425			
	Total	2379.850	239				

Again, more specific comparisons are needed to test the three hypotheses. (See Table 5-34.) First, consistent with Hypothesis 10-6, MPAd programs require fewer total credit hours that do MPP programs (mean difference = 3.36, $p < .006$). Hypothesis 10-7, however, is not supported. Although MPAd programs place a higher proportion of total credits in the core than do MPP programs, this difference is not statistically significant. Lastly, MPAd programs offer fewer areas of concentration than do MPP programs (mean difference = 2.38, $p < .000$). Hypothesis 10-8 is accepted.

Table 5-34 Mean Comparisons: Degree Type, Total Credit Hours, Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core, and Number of Concentration Areas

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Degree type	(J) Degree type			
Total credit hours	MPAd	MPAf	3.91E-02	1.76	1.000
		MPP	-3.36*	1.08	.006
	MPAf	MPAd	-3.91E-02	1.76	1.000
		MPP	-3.40	1.99	.269
	MPP	MPA	3.36*	1.08	.006
		MPAf	3.40	1.99	.269
Proportion of total credit hours in core	MPAd	MPAf	11.0964*	3.5348	.006
		MPP	1.7288	2.1672	1.000
	MPAf	MPAd	-11.0964*	3.5348	.006
		MPP	-9.3676	4.0009	.060
	MPP	MPA	-1.7288	2.1672	1.000
		MPAf	9.3676	4.0009	.060
Number of concentration areas	MPAd	MPAf	.14	.99	1.000
		MPP	-2.38*	.61	.000
	MPAf	MPAd	-.14	.99	1.000
		MPP	-2.53	1.13	.077
	MPP	MPA	2.38*	.61	.000
		MPAf	2.53	1.13	.077

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Alternative Explanatory Factors

Program Size and Curricular Structure

In addition to examining the relationships between program design and the three contextual factors, I also looked at program size, measured by the numbers of full-time and total faculty. I introduced several hypotheses. The first set focuses on the influence of the number of full-time faculty on curricular structure. As the number of full-time faculty increases, both numbers of total credit hours (Hypothesis 11-1) and concentration areas (Hypothesis 11-3) will increase.

Table 5-35 Total Credit Hours and Number of Concentrations by Number of Full-Time Faculty

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables	
Number of Full-Time Faculty	Total Credit Hours	Concentration Areas
r^2	.048	.165
F	11.894	46.824
Sig.	.001	.000
B	9.632E-02*	.102*
Std. Error	.028	.015
Beta	.219*	.406*

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

The data show apparent support for both hypotheses (see Table 5-35). Yet, the relationship between size of full-time faculty and the number of total credit hours is fairly weak; the number of full-time faculty accounts for less than 5% of the variation in total credit hours. The number of full-time faculty is more strongly associated with the number of concentration areas. It accounts for more than 16% of the variation in the number of concentrations; when one additional full-time faculty member joins a program, the program will add .1 more concentrations.

Table 5-36 Numbers of Total Credit Hours and Concentration Areas by Number of Total Faculty

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables	
Total Faculty	Total Credit Hours	Concentration Areas
r^2	.076	.105
F	19.613	28.009
Sig.	.000	.000
B	6.266E-02*	4.212E-02*
Std. Error	.014	.015
Beta	.276*	.324*

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$

Similarly, I explored the effects of the size of the total faculty on total credit hours and number of concentrations. Hypothesis 11-2 predicts that as the number of total faculty increases, the total credit hours will also rise, and Hypothesis 11-4 expects an increase in total faculty size will generate an increase in the number of concentrations. In these data, the number of total faculty has positive, statistically significant relationships

with both numbers of total credit hours and concentration areas (see Table 5-36). These findings support Hypothesis 11-2 and 11-4. Both relationships, however, are weak. The number of total faculty accounts for 7% of the variation in the number of total credit hours and 10% of the variation in the number of concentrations.

Student Types and Curricular Requirements

In addition, I investigated whether curricular requirements varied depending on the type of student, focusing on pre-service and in-service students. It seemed that programs might, for example, require in-service students to take other courses such as research projects and capstone seminars rather than the internships required of pre-service students; programs also might allow in-service students to simply have internship requirements waived. In the latter case, there might be differences between in- and pre-service students in the total hours required for a degree. Cleary (1990) tapped this aspect by examining the differences in the number of total hours required for pre- and in-service students separately. He found, however, few differences in the required hours for the two types of student. For that reason, I focused on reporting differences in exit requirements by probing if programs require in-service students to take other courses in order to replace internship requirements. In the sample, 155 programs require pre-service students to take internship courses. Of these, however, only 11 (7%) and three (2%) programs require in-service students to do research projects or take capstone seminars respectively, instead of doing internships. Similar to Cleary's finding, it seems that few differences exist in exit requirements for pre- and in-service students in masters' programs.

Performance of Hypotheses and Conceptual Framework

The previous section reported the results of testing the hypotheses focusing on bivariate relationships. Now, I turn to examining multivariate relationships to see if the findings in the bivariate tests change after another variable or other variables are added to the analysis.

Multiple Institutional Logics and Organizational Belief Systems

In Chapter Three, I contended that organizations have varying belief systems that are likely to be affected by multiple institutional logics. I also tested four hypotheses about such ties. I found that no difference appeared in the program mission of educating students to be public leaders based on program affiliation. Programs affiliated only with NASPAA were more likely to have the mission of preparing students to be public managers than were programs with other affiliations, while they were less likely to have the mission of training students to be policy analysts than those with other affiliations. I also found that programs affiliated only with APPAM were apt to grant MPP degrees, and those affiliated only with APPAM were apt to grant MPP degrees. The next step is to see whether these bivariate relationships between institutional membership (the independent variable) and program mission and degree type (the dependent variables) remain when a control variable (accreditation status) is introduced.

Institutional Membership and Program Mission, Controlling for Accreditation Status

Table 5-37 Program Mission of Producing Public Leaders by Institutional Membership, Controlling for Accreditation Status

	Institutional membership	Program mission: public leader		Sig.	Somers' d
Accreditation Status		No	Yes		
No	NASPAA	41 73.2%	39 78.0%	.424	-.044
	APPAM	6 10.7%	2 4.0%		
	NASPAA and APPAM	9 16.1%	9 18.0%		
Yes	NASPAA	56 76.7%	50 82.0%	.456	-.079
	NASPAA and APPAM	17 23.3%	11 18.0%		

I found, first, that institutional membership had no statistically significant tie with the program mission of producing public leaders, whether or not programs were accredited by NASPAA (see Table 5-37.). I infer that this is at least partly because public policy programs also stress acting as a public leader as an important role of public administrators.

Table 5-38 Program Mission of Producing Public Managers by Institutional Membership, Controlling for Accreditation Status

	Institutional membership	Program mission: public manager		Sig.	Somers' d
Accreditation Status		No	Yes		
No	NASPAA	5 27.8%	75 85.2%	.000	-.409*
	APPAM	4 22.2%	4 4.5%		
	NASPAA and APPAM	9 50.0%	9 10.2%		
Yes	NASPAA	17 81.0%	89 78.8%	.821	.018
	NASPAA and APPAM	4 19.0%	24 21.2%		

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Second, the relationship between institutional membership and the program mission of training public managers reaches statistical significance when accreditation status is introduced; institutional membership has a statistically significant relationship with this mission when programs are not accredited by NASPAA (see Table 5-38). In this case, the relationship between the two variables is relatively strong (Somers's d = -.409). NASPAA-affiliated programs are most likely to have educating public managers as their education mission. Controlling for accreditation status leaves the bivariate results largely unchanged.

Lastly, statistically significant relationships remain between program affiliation and the program mission of producing policy analysts when accreditation status is held constant (see Table 5-39). The relationship between these two variables is stronger when programs are not accredited by NASPAA than when they are accredited. In general,

programs affiliated only with NASPAA seem to be reluctant to call producing policy analysts a program mission. In particular, programs affiliated with and unaccredited by NASPAA are least likely to have training policy analysts as a program mission. In contrast, all institutional members of APPAM and more than half of both NASPAA- and APPAM-affiliated programs reported that they had such a mission. Again, these findings are generally consistent with the bivariate results.

Table 5-39 Program Mission of Producing Policy Analysts by Institutional Membership, Controlling for Accreditation Status

	Institutional membership	Program mission: policy analyst		Sig.	Somers' d
Accreditation Status		No	Yes		
No	NASPAA	72 93.5%	8 27.6%	.000	.644*
	APPAM	0 0.0%	8 27.6%		
	NASPAA and APPAM	5 6.5%	13 44.8%		
Yes	NASPAA	86 89.6%	20 52.6%	.000	.454*
	NASPAA and APPAM	10 10.4%	18 47.4%		

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

In sum, little change appeared in the relationships between institutional membership and program mission when accreditation status was introduced. More importantly, these findings demonstrate a strong relationship between program affiliation and mission. The mission of programs affiliated with NASPAA is more likely to be to educate students to be public managers, while that of programs affiliated with APPAM and with both NASPAA and APPAM is more apt to be to prepare students to be policy analysts.

Institutional Membership and Degree Type, Controlling for Accreditation Status

I also examined if there were changes in the relationship between institutional membership and degree type when controlling for accreditation status. (See Table 5-40). In unaccredited programs, MPAd degrees are more likely to be offered by programs affiliated only with NASPAA, while MPP degrees tend to be granted more frequently by programs affiliated only with APPAM or with both NASPAA and APPAM. The tie between the two variables holding accreditation status constant is relatively strong. Among unaccredited programs, institutional affiliation improves one's ability to predict degree type by between 42 and 52%. When programs are accredited by NASPAA, MPAd degrees are more likely to be offered by programs affiliated only with NASPAA, while MPP degrees are more likely to be given by programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM. Here, however, the relationship is rather weak (Goodman & Kruskal tau = .102; uncertainty coefficient = .145). Overall, these findings are consistent with the bivariate test of Hypothesis 2-1. As with the relationship between program affiliation and mission, they demonstrate a strong linkage between institutional membership and degree type.

Table 5-40 Degree Type by Institutional Membership, Controlling for Accreditation Status

	Institutional Membership	Degree Type			Sig.	Lambda	Goodman & Kruskal tau	Uncertainty coefficient
Accreditation Status		MPAd	MPAf	MPP				
No	NASPAA	74	4	2	.000	.519*	.485*	.417*
		93.7%	66.7%	9.5%				
	APPAM	1	0	7				
		1.3%	0.0%	33.3%				
	NASPAA & APPAM	4	2	12				
		5.1%	33.3%	57.1%				
Yes	NASPAA	102	2	2	.000	.000	.102*	.145*
		83.6%	50.0%	25.0%				
	NASPAA & APPAM	20	2	6				
		16.4%	50.0%	75.0%				

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Evaluation of the Performance of Hypotheses and Conceptual Framework

The results of the bivariate tests and the introduction of a control variable show that institutional membership is closely related to program mission and degree type. Programs affiliated only with NASPAA are likely both to have training public managers as an educational mission and to offer the MPAd degree. In contrast, programs affiliated only with APPAM are apt to have preparing students to be policy analysts as a mission and to grant MPP degrees. These findings appear to confirm that NASPAA membership consists largely of programs that offer MPAd degrees and whose program missions are to educate students to be public managers; in contrast, APPAM members tend to be programs that offer MPP degrees and pursue the mission of producing policy analysts.

Initially, I anticipated that programs would differ depending on their accreditation status, and the bivariate tests suggested that accreditation status indeed did affect program mission and degree type. Yet, few changes emerged in the relationships between program affiliation and mission and between affiliation and degree type when controlling for accreditation status. Nonetheless, when only unaccredited programs are considered, some differences in program mission and degree type appeared among the three program groups. This implies that accreditation does serve to some extent to minimize variation among programs (that is, to increase isomorphism).

Overall, the results appear to demonstrate that institutional logics (institutional membership and accreditation status) affect organizational belief systems (program mission and degree type). The field of public affairs evidently is polarized by the two competing associations (NASPAA and APPAM), and programs have differing program missions and offer differing types of degree, depending on whether they are affiliated with NASPAA or APPAM. This highlights apparent consistencies between multiple institutional logics (“field identity”) and organizational belief systems (“organizational identity”), which supports the conceptual framework.

I turn next to the influences of several independent variables on institutional design.

Multiple Institutional Logics, Organizational Positions, Organizational Belief Systems, and Program Designs

The conceptual framework in Chapter Three suggested that three contextual factors – multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems – would be likely to influence the institutional design of masters' programs. To further assess the framework, I examined eight regression models with different independent and dependent variables. I used each of the eight indicators of program design as a separate dependent variable, with the independent variables changing to reflect the varying parts of the framework. That said, the analysis does not include all possible specifications; for instance, the regressions include only additive relationships and not non-linear ones (tapped, for instance, by interaction terms).

The empirical analysis used institutional membership and accreditation status to tap multiple institutional logics. To probe the relationships between multiple institutional logics and program design, I returned to the five groupings of programs' affiliation and accreditation status. Particular groups were selected for specific tests based on the bivariate findings.[172] First, since Group 1 (NASPAA-affiliated and accredited programs) required the highest proportion of core credit hours in public management courses, it was selected for investigation of the effect of multiple institutional logics on the proportion of core hours required in public management courses when controlling for other possible influences. Second, Group 2 (NASPAA-affiliated but unaccredited programs) required a higher proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses than did the other four groups, and it was chosen to further probe the influence of program affiliation and accreditation status on the proportion of core hours in public administration courses. Third, although no statistically significant mean differences appeared between <u>any</u> groups in the proportion of core credit hours required in courses on specific levels of government, Group 2 evidently required the highest proportion of core credit hours in this area. Thus, I

[172]. I focused on the *strongest* bivariate relationships in large part to explore how robust the hypothesized relations were when a number of other variables were controlled for. This strategy likely increased the risks of reducing generalizability and introducing possible bias. Moreover, since the same variables were not used in the eight regression models, the results cannot be directly compared with one another.

focused on Group 2 programs in exploring the influences on the proportion of core hours required in courses on specific levels of government.

Lastly, I did not suggest any hypotheses about the relationships between multiple institutional logics and curricular structure. Because of this, I examined mean differences between the five groups in the number of total credit hours, the proportion of total credit hours in the core, and the number of concentration areas (see Table 5-41, 5-42, and 5-43). After looking at these results, I selected Group 3 to explore the influence of multiple institutional logics on the number of total credit hours required, Group 2 for examining effects on the proportion of total hours in the core, and Group 5 (both NASPAA and APPAM-affiliated but unaccredited programs) to check the effects on the number of concentration areas offered.[173]

[173]. Programs in each selected group required more total hours (Group 3), assigned more hours to the core (Group 2), and offered more concentrations (Group 5) than those in other groups. Applying the same selection rule used in investigating the relationships between multiple institutional logics and curricular components, I also concentrated on the strongest bivariate relationships between multiple institutional logics and curricular structure.

Table 5-41 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Total Credit Hours: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Total Credit Hours	Group 1	Group 2	2.41*	.76	.017
		Group 3	-5.14	1.87	.066
		Group 4	-2.61	1.06	.143
		Group 5	-4.08*	1.37	.033
	Group 2	Group 1	-2.41	.76	.017
		Group 3	-7.54*	1.89	.001
		Group 4	-5.01*	1.09	.000
		Group 5	-6.48*	1.40	.000
	Group 3	Group 1	5.14	1.87	.066
		Group 2	7.54*	1.89	.001
		Group 4	2.53	2.03	1.000
		Group 5	1.06	2.21	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	2.61	1.06	.143
		Group 2	5.01*	1.09	.000
		Group 3	-2.53	2.03	1.000
		Group 5	-1.47	1.58	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	4.08*	1.37	.033
		Group 2	6.48*	1.40	.000
		Group3	-1.06	2.21	1.000
		Group 4	1.47	1.58	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5-42 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core: Mean Comparisons

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category			
Proportion of Total Credit Hours in Core Courses	Group 1	Group 2	-4.8864E-03	1.634E-02	1.000
		Group 3	9.220E-02	4.054E-02	.238
		Group 4	4.656E-03	2.288E-02	1.000
		Group 5	1.258E-02	2.966E-02	1.000
	Group 2	Group 1	4.886E-03	1.634E-02	1.000
		Group 3	9.708E-02	4.096E-02	.186
		Group 4	9.542E-03	2.362E-02	1.000
		Group 5	1.747E-02	3.024E-02	1.000
	Group 3	Group 1	-9.2199E-02	4.054E-02	.238
		Group 2	-9.7085E-02	4.096E-02	.186
		Group 4	-8.7543E-02	4.398E-02	.477
		Group 5	-7.9615E-02	4.786E-02	.975
	Group 4	Group 1	-4.6556E-03	2.288E-02	1.000
		Group 2	-9.5420E-03	2.362E-02	1.000
		Group 3	8.754E-02	4.398E-02	.477
		Group 5	7.927E-03	3.422E-02	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	-1.2583E-02	2.966E-02	1.000
		Group 2	-1.7469E-02	3.024E-02	1.000
		Group3	7.962E-02	4.786E-02	.975
		Group 4	-7.9275E-03	3.422E-02	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5-43 Program Affiliation, Accreditation Status, and Number of Concentration Areas: Mean Comparisons

Dependent Variable	(I) Group category	(J) Group category	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Number of Concentration Areas	Group 1	Group 2	.64	.44	1.000
		Group 3	-1.57	1.09	1.000
		Group 4	-1.97*	.61	.015
		Group 5	-3.20*	.80	.001
	Group 2	Group 1	-.64	.44	1.000
		Group 3	-2.21	1.10	.456
		Group 4	-2.61*	.63	.001
		Group 5	-3.83*	.81	.000
	Group 3	Group 1	1.57	1.09	1.000
		Group 2	2.21	1.10	.456
		Group 4	-.40	1.18	1.000
		Group 5	-1.63	1.28	1.000
	Group 4	Group 1	1.97*	.61	.015
		Group 2	2.61*	.63	.001
		Group 3	.40	1.18	1.000
		Group 5	-1.22	.92	1.000
	Group 5	Group 1	3.20	.80	.001
		Group 2	3.83	.81	.000
		Group3	1.63	1.28	1.000
		Group 4	1.22	.92	1.000

- Group 1: Programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 2: Programs affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 3: Programs affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA
- Group 4: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and accredited by NASPAA
- Group 5: Programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Organizational position was measured using four indicators: organizational setting, university type, founding period, and program ranking. First, as I did above, I selected particular organizational settings to focus on in the regression models. For example, statistically significant mean differences existed between the five types of program location in the proportion of core credit hours required in public management courses; programs in business units turned out to require a higher proportion of core hours in such

courses than did those in other units. Thus, I used business units to examine the impact of organizational setting (and other influences) on the proportion of core credit hours in public management courses. In addition, I probed the influences of university type, founding period, and program ranking on program design, using the same variables that I did in testing the hypotheses.

The last part of the framework suggests that institutional design is likely to be affected by organizational belief systems, tapped here by program mission and degree type. In examining the effects of these variables on program design, I followed the same rules that I used in looking at the relationships between multiple institutional logics and program design. Based on the results of testing the hypotheses on the relationships between degree type and the proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses, for example, I selected the program mission of producing public leaders and offering the MPAf degree to explore the possible influence of organizational belief systems on the dependent variable when controlling for other independent variables.

Finally, although not included in the conceptual framework, I also examined the possible impact of program size on program design.

Each regression model provides a differing view of the relationships among the three contextual factors and program design. Attention turns next to reporting the results of the multiple regression analyses, distinguishing between effects on curricular components and on curricular structure.

Examining Curricular Components

The first regression model used the proportion of core hours in required public administration courses as the dependent variable. Model 1 produced the following results:

$$Y_1 = -63.494 + 3.724X_1 + .974X_2 + 2.693X_3 - .563X_4 + 3.803E\text{-}02X_5 + 3.752X_6 + 1.913X_7 + 5.536E\text{-}02X_8$$

- Y1: Proportion of core credit hours in public administration courses
- X_1: Affiliation with NASPAA and no accreditation[174]
- X_2: Political science units[175]

[174]. The combination of program affiliation and accreditation was coded “1” if a program is affiliated with and not accredited by NASPAA, and “0” otherwise.

- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Program mission of producing public leader[176]
- X_7: MPAf[177]
- X_8: Program size

Table 5-44 Regression Models 1-5: Curricular Components

Indep Variables		Dependent Variables: Curricular Components									
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
		B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
IV 1	ID 1	3.724	.167*	3.679	.124	23.510	.267*	1.899	.149	2.652	.051
IV 2	ID 2	.974	.046	2.077	.048	2.177	.056	2.027	.129	.553	.024
	ID 3	2.693	.104	-1.792	-.049	-3.222	-.089	1.019	.069	1.761	.083
	ID 4	-.563	-.024	-6.265	-.186*	7.131	.215*	-1.334	-.098	3.234	.166
	ID 5	3.803 E-02	.057	-8.283 E-04	-.001	-8.816 E-03	-.009	-1.752 E-02	-.046	2.253 E-02	.041
IV 3	ID 6	3.752	.181*	2.612	.065	7.056	.222*	.270	.017	-.839	-.046
	ID 7	1.913	.042	13.480	.359*	10.476	.224*	2.297	.089	3.993	.160
IV 4	ID 8	5.536 E-02	.074	-.151	-.141	-.107	-.102	2.210 E-03	.005	8.380 E-02	.136
R^2		.090		.359		.448		.057		.122	
F		2.121		11.985		17.346		1.299		2.973	
Sig.		.036		.000		.000		.247		.004	

- IV 1: Multiple institutional logics
- IV 2: Organizational position
- IV 3: Organizational belief system
- IV 4: Additional factor
- ID 1: Affiliation/accreditation
- ID 2: Organizational setting
- ID 3: University type
- ID 4: Program reputation
- ID 5: Program founding year
- ID 6: Program mission
- ID 7: Degree type
- ID 8: Program size

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[175]. Organizational setting was coded "1" if a program is located in a political science department, and "0" otherwise.

[176]. Program mission was coded "1" if a program mission is to produce public leaders, and "0" otherwise.

[177]. Degree type was coded "1" if the degree a program awards is the MPAf, and "0" otherwise.

- Model 1: dependent variable is the proportion of core credit hours required in public administration courses
- Model 2: dependent variable is the proportion of core credit hours required in public management courses
- Model 3: dependent variable is the proportion of core credit hours required in public policy courses
- Model 4: dependent variable is the proportion of core credit hours required in courses on specific levels of government
- Model 5: dependent variable is the proportion of core credit hours required in methods courses

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Except for program reputation, all of the independent variables are positively related to the proportion of core hours to be taken in public administration courses. Yet, only program affiliation/accreditation and mission are statistically significant influences. (See Table 5-44.) When a program is affiliated with but not accredited by NASPAA, holding other variables constant, the program will be likely to require almost four percent more core hours in public administration courses; similarly, a program with the mission of producing public leaders will, all else equal, be likely to require nearly 4% more core credit hours in public administration courses. Overall, though it is statistically significant, Model 1 accounts for only 9% of the variation in the proportion of core hours in public administration courses.

Second, Model 2 examined the relationships between the eight indicators and the proportion of core credit hours in public management courses, yielding the following:

$$Y_2 = 29.899 + 3.679X_1 + 2.077X_2 - 1.792X_3 - 6.265X_4 - 8.283E\text{-}04X_5 + 2.612X_6 + 13.480X_7 - 1.51X_8$$

- Y_2: Proportion of core credit hours in public management courses
- X_1: Affiliation with NASPAA and accredited[178]
- X_2: Business units[179]
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding

[178]. The combination of program affiliation and accreditation was coded "1" if a program is affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA, and "0" otherwise.

[179]. Organizational setting was coded "1" if a program is located in a business unit, and "0" otherwise.

- X_6: Educational mission of public manager[180]
- X_7: MPAd[181]
- X_8: Program size

Here, affiliation/accreditation, organizational setting, program mission, and degree type have positive relationships with the proportion of core hours in public management courses, while university type, program reputation, program founding year, and program size are negatively related. However, only the relationships with program reputation and degree type are statistically significant at $p < .05$. (See Table 5-44.) When a program is ranked in the lower-tier and other variables are held constant, it will be likely to require 6.3% more core credit hours in public management courses than do upper-tier programs. Meanwhile, all else equal, programs that offer the MPAd degree are likely to require almost 13.5% more core hours in public management than those granting other degrees. And, the proportion of core credit hours in public management courses evidently is affected more by degree type (Beta = .359) than by program ranking (Beta = .186). Lastly, Model 2 accounts for almost 36% of the variation in the proportion of core hours in public management.

Third, I examined the relationships between the eight independent variables and the proportion of core credit hours required in public policy courses (Model 3).

$$Y_3 = 34.834 + 23.510X_1 + 2.177X_2 – 3.222X_3 + 7.131X_4 – 8.816E\text{-}03X_5 + 7.056X_6 + 10.476X_7 – .107X_8$$

- Y_3: Proportion of core credit hours in public policy courses
- X_1: Affiliation with APPAM and no accreditation[182]
- X_2: Public policy units[183]
- X_3: University type

[180]. Program mission was coded “1” if a program mission is to produce public managers, and “0” otherwise.

[181]. Degree type was coded “1” if the degree a program awards is the MPAd, and “0” otherwise

[182]. The combination of program affiliation and accreditation was coded “1” if a program is affiliated with APPAM and not accredited by NASPAA, and “0” otherwise.

[183]. Organizational setting was coded “1” if a program is located in a public policy unit, and “0” otherwise.

- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of policy analyst[184]
- X_7: MPP[185]
- X_8: Program size

The proportion of core hours required in public policy courses is positively associated with affiliation/accreditation, organizational setting, program reputation, program mission, and degree type, while it is negatively related with university type, founding year, and size. Yet, of these relationships, only affiliation/accreditation, reputation, mission, and degree type are statistically significant (see Table 5-44). First, when a program is affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA, holding other variables constant, it will be likely to require almost 24% more core hours in public policy courses than other types of program. Second, when a program is ranked in the upper-tier it will be likely to require over 7% more core hours in such courses than do "lower-tier" programs, all else equal. Third, when a program claims its mission is to produce policy analysts, it is likely to require over 7% more core hours in public policy compared with programs with other missions, holding other variables constant. Finally, when a program offers the MPP degree, controlling for other variables, it will be likely to require over 10% more core credit hours in public policy courses than programs offering other degrees. Looking at the model as a whole, affiliation/ accreditation (Beta = .267) is somewhat more important in determining the proportion of core hours in public policy courses than program reputation (Beta = .215), program mission (Beta = .222), and degree type (Beta = .224). Model 3 explains nearly 45% of the variation in this dependent variable.

Model 4 focused on another curricular component, the proportion of core hours in courses on specific levels of government.

$$Y_4 = 34.992 + 1.899X_1 + 2.027X_2 + 1.019X_3 - 1.334X_4 - 1.752E\text{-}02X_5 + .270X_6 + 2.297X_7 + 2.210E\text{-}03X_8$$

[184]. Program mission was coded "1" if a program mission is to produce policy analysts, and "0" otherwise.

[185]. Degree type was coded "1" if the degree a program awards is the MPP, and "0" otherwise.

- Y_4: Proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government
- X_1: Affiliation with NASPAA and no accreditation
- X_2: Public affairs units[186]
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of public manager
- X_7: MPAf
- X_8: Program size

Except for program reputation and founding period, the other independent variables are positively related to the proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government. Yet, none of these is statistically significant at $p < 0.5$, and the model as a whole also fails to meet conventional significance thresholds. (See Table 5-44.)

Lastly, I investigated the relationships between the eight independent variables and the proportion of core credit hours in methods courses (Model 5).

$$Y_5 = -27.181 + 2.652X_1 + .553X_2 + 1.761X_3 + 3.234X_4 + 2.253E\text{-}02X_5 - .839X_6 + 3.993X_7 + 8.380E\text{-}02X_8$$

- Y_5: Proportion of core credit hours in methods courses
- X_1: Affiliation with NASPAA and no accreditation
- X_2: Public policy units
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of policy analyst
- X_7: MPP
- X8: Program size

Here, all of the independent variables except program mission are positively associated with the proportion of core hours in methods courses. As in Model 4, however, none of these is statistically significant (see Table 5-44.) Overall, Model 5 is statistically significant, and it accounts for 12% of the variation in the proportion of core credit hours in methods courses.

[186]. Organizational setting was coded "1" if a program is located in public affairs units, and "0" otherwise.

Examining Curricular Structure

Another aspect of program design is curricular structure, tapped here by the number of total credit hours, the proportion of total hours in the core curriculum, and the number of concentrations. First, Model 6 looked for possible influences on the number of total credit hours:

$$Y_6 = 88.388 + 3.072X_1 + 2.566X_2 - .614X_3 + .967X_4 - 2.418E\text{-}02X_5 + .756X_6 + 1.980X_7 + 2.266E\text{-}02X_8$$

- Y_6: Number of total credit hours
- X_1: Affiliation with APPAM and no accreditation
- X_2: Public affairs units
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of public leader
- X_7: MPP
- X_8: Program size

Table 5-45 Regression Models 6-8: Curricular Structure

Independent Variables		Dependent Variables: Curricular Structure					
		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
		B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
IV 1	ID 1	3.072	.099	8.404E-04	.004	.980	.081
IV 2	ID 2	2.566	.189*	5.443E-02	.167*	.922	.107
	ID 3	-.614	-.048	9.456E-03	.034	-6.955E-02	-.009
	ID 4	.967	.082	-8.153E-03	-.032	1.628	.220*
	ID 5	-2.418E-02	-.073	1.729E-04	.024	-1.141E-02	-.055
IV 3	ID 6	.756	.074	2.362E-02	.106	-.376	-.054
	ID 7	1.980	.131	4.655E-02	.164	.215	.023
IV 4	ID 8	2.266E-02	.061	5.899E-04	.073	6.501E-02	.278*
R^2		.145		.073		.284	
F		3.626		1.689		8.462	
Sig.		.001		.104		.000	

- IV 1: Multiple institutional logics
- IV 2: Organizational position
- IV 3: Organizational belief system
- IV 4: Additional factor
- ID 1: Affiliation/accreditation
- ID 2: Organizational setting
- ID 3: University type
- ID 4: Program reputation
- ID 5: Program founding year

- ID 6: Program mission
- ID 7: Degree type
- ID 8: Program size
- Model 1: dependent variable is the number of total credit hours
- Model 2: dependent variable is the proportion of total credit hours in core
- Model 3: dependent variable is the number of concentration areas

* = statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Second, I related the independent variables to the proportion of total credit hours that programs place in the core curriculum (Model 7).

$$Y_7 = 0.122 + 8.404E\text{-}04X_1 + 5.443E\text{-}02X_2 + 9.456E\text{-}03X_3 - 8.153E\text{-}03X_4 + 1.729E\text{-}04X_5 + 2.362E\text{-}02X_6 + 4.655E\text{-}02X_7 + 5.899E\text{-}04X_8$$

- Y_7: Proportion of total credit hours in the core
- X_1: Affiliation with NASPAA and no accreditation
- X_2: Business units
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of public leader
- X_7: MPAd
- X_8: Program size

Here, each of the independent variables, except for program reputation, is positively related to the proportion of total hours in the core. Yet, of these relationships, only organizational setting has a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable (see Table 5-45). When a program is housed in a business unit, holding other variables constant, it will place over .5% more of its total credit hours in the core, compared with programs lodged in other settings. Yet, overall, Model 7 is only statistically significant at the 90% confidence level, and in any case fails to account for most of the variation in the dependent variable.

A final regression (Model 8) probed the effects on the number of concentrations that masters' programs offer.

$$Y_8 = 24.919 + .980X_1 + .922X_2 - 6.955E\text{-}02X_3 + 1.628X_4 - 1.141E\text{-}02X_5 - 1.376X_6 + .215X_7 + 6.501E\text{-}02X_8$$

- Y_8: Number of concentration areas offered

- X_1: Affiliation with both NASPAA and APPAM and no accreditation[187]
- X_2: Public policy units
- X_3: University type
- X_4: Program reputation
- X_5: Period of program founding
- X_6: Educational mission of policy analyst
- X_7: MPP
- X_8: Program size

Except for university type and the year of program founding, all of the independent variables have positive associations with the number of total credit hours. (See Table 5-45.) Of these relationships, however, only organizational setting is statistically significant. When a program is located in a public affairs unit, it is likely to require, all else equal, 2.6% more total hours to graduate than programs housed in other settings. As a whole, Model 6 explains somewhat more than 14% of the variation in the number of total credit hours.

As can be seen, the number of concentration areas is positively associated with affiliation/accreditation, organizational setting, program reputation, degree type, and program size, and negatively related to university type, program founding year, and program mission. Yet, of these relationships, only program reputation and program size are statistically significant (see Table 5-45). This suggests that, all else equal, when a program is ranked in the upper-tier, it typically will offer over one and one-half more concentrations than lower-tier programs. Meanwhile, each additional full-time faculty member is related to an increase of .065 concentrations. Overall, the independent variables in Model 8 account for over 28% of the variation in number of concentrations.

Evaluation of the Performance of Hypotheses and Conceptual Framework

The results of the multiple regression analyses point to some differences from the bivariate relationships. (See Tables 5-46 and 5-47.) First, in the relationships between multiple institutional logics and curricular components, the results of the bivariate hypothesis tests indicated that affiliation/accreditation has statistically significant

[187]. The combination of program affiliation and accreditation was coded "1" if a program is affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA, "0" otherwise.

relationships with the proportions of core hours in public administration, public management, public policy, and methods courses. Yet, the multiple regression analyses indicate that affiliation/ accreditation has statistically significant relationships only with the proportions of core hours in public administration and in public policy courses.

Second, when probing the relationship between organizational position and program design, both bivariate and multivariate analyses showed that organizational setting was significantly associated with the number of total credit hours and the proportion of total credit hours in the core. Unlike the bivariate results, however, multiple regression analyses revealed that organizational setting has no statistically significant relationships with the proportions of core credit hours in public management, public policy, and methods courses, or with the number of concentration areas offered. Neither test showed a statistically significant relationship between university type and the number of concentration areas. In the bivariate analyses, program reputation had statistically significant relationships with the numbers of total credit hours and concentration areas offered, but the multiple regression results showed no statistically significant relationship between reputation and total credit hours. Interestingly, even though I did not explicitly examine the bivariate relationship between program reputation and curricular components, multiple regression analysis showed that program reputation is negatively related to the proportion of core credit hours in public management courses and positively related to the proportion of core hours in public policy courses; both are statistically significant. Compared to their lower-tier counterparts, upper-tier programs require a higher proportion of core hours in public policy and a lower proportion in public management. Although the hypothesis tests indicated that the year of program founding has statistically significant relationships with the proportion of core hours in public management courses, the number of total credit hours and the number of concentrations, its relationships with these variables were not significant in the multivariate analyses.

Finally, in the relations between organizational belief systems and program design, the bivariate analyses showed that program mission was significantly related to the proportions of core credit hours in public administration, public management, and public policy as well as to the number of concentration areas. Yet, the multivariate tests revealed

that it had statistically significant relationships only with the proportions of core credit hours in public administration and in public policy courses. Similarly, in the bivariate tests, degree type had statistically significant relationships with all of the dependent variables examined, except for the proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government; in the multivariate analyses, however, statistically significant relationships remained only with the proportions of core hours in public management and in public policy courses.

Table 5-46 Relationships between Variables: Results of Tests of Bivariate Hypotheses

Independent Variables		Dependent Variables: Program design							
		Curricular Components					Structure		
		PA	PM	PP	Gov	M	TC	CC	CA
Multiple institutional logics	Affiliation & Accreditation	Yes[a]	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A
Organization Positions	Organizational setting	No[b]	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	University type	N/A[c]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No
	Reputation	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A	Yes
	Founding year	N/A	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A	Yes
Belief systems	Mission	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Yes
	Degree type	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

- PA: Proportion of core credit hours in public administration
- PM: Proportion of core credit hours in public management
- PP: Proportion of core credit hours in public policy
- Gov: Proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government
- M: Proportion of core credit hours in methods
- TC: Number of total credit hours
- CC: Proportion of total credit hours in core
- CA: Number of concentration areas offered
- a = statistically significant relationship
- b = no statistically significant relationship
- c = not applicable

Table 5-47 Relationships between Variables: Results of Multivariate Analyses

Independent Variables		Dependent Variables: Program design							
		Curricular Components					Structure		
		PA	PM	PP	Gov	M	TC	CC	CA
Multiple institutional logics	Affiliation & Accreditation	Yes[a]	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Organization Positions	Organizational setting	No[b]	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
	University type	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Reputation	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
	Founding year	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Belief systems	Mission	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
	Degree type	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

- PA: Proportion of core credit hours in public administration
- PM: Proportion of core credit hours in public management
- PP: Proportion of core credit hours in public policy
- Gov: Proportion of core credit hours in courses on specific levels of government
- M: Proportion of core credit hours in methods
- TC: Number of total credit hours
- CC: Proportion of total credit hours in core
- CA: Number of concentration areas offered
- a = statistically significant relationship
- b = no statistically significant relationship

Overall, the number of statistically significant relationships was reduced when the bivariate analyses were extended by adding other variables. Nonetheless, several continuities appeared. Controlling for other variables, statistically significant relationships remained between affiliation/accreditation and the proportions of core credit hours in public administration and public policy courses, between organizational setting and the number of total credit hours and the proportion of total credit hours in the core, between program reputation and the number of concentration areas, between program mission and the proportions of core hours in public administration and public policy courses, and between degree type and the proportions of core credit hours in public management and public policy courses.

One of the intriguing findings in both sets of results is that multiple institutional logics and organizational belief systems seem to be more intimately related to curricular components, while organizational positions (except for program reputation) tend to be

more closely associated with curricular structure. This may be because multiple institutional logics and organizational belief systems in these data are more relevant to defining the content of core courses, while organizational positions are directly or indirectly associated with the size of programs, which itself may affect curricular structure.

Similar to the results of the analyses using a third variable as a control, the multiple regression findings clearly demonstrate that the educational field of public affairs is divided between the traditional public administration and the public policy programs. The two kinds of program have different relationships with the three contextual factors, since programs probably perceive their niches from different angles. The two have somewhat different "field identities": traditional public administration programs are affiliated mainly with NASPAA, while most public policy programs are members of APPAM. Compared with traditional public administration programs, public policy programs are housed in public policy schools, are so-called leading programs ranked in the upper-tier (i.e., have a distinct "population identity"), and tend to offer more concentrations. Finally, traditional public administration programs accentuate generating public managers and offer MPAd degrees, while public policy programs emphasize the educational mission of preparing students to be policy analysts and grant MPP degrees. The two also might be expected, then, to have divergent "organizational identities." "Program identities" evidently also differ: traditional public administration programs stress the importance of teaching public administration and public management courses in the core, while public policy programs highlight public policy courses.

All of these findings appear to be quite consistent with the conceptual framework. In the following chapter, I will discuss the implications.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the limitations of early studies in the sociological stream of new institutionalism, I constructed a conceptual framework to account for differences in institutional designs in organizations. The framework integrates the Selznick tradition of old institutionalism and more recent works in new institutionalism (the internal and the external approaches). I also introduced the concept of identity to emphasize that institutional design is an identity construct created in interactions with multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems. The interplay generates divergent forces that produce variations in institutional design. I contended that the three contextual factors at each level of analysis embed distinctive identities; institutional designs should be understood as reflecting the relationships between identities in an institution (within an organization) and in the contexts. To examine the utility of the conceptual framework, I applied it to the design of masters' programs in public affairs. In this final chapter, I summarize the empirical findings, and then discuss their implications for public affairs and organizational theory. The chapter ends by suggesting possible directions for future study.

Summary of Findings

Current Feature of Masters' Programs

I found considerable variation among the 249 masters' programs in the sample. For example, a few required between 71% and 78% of core credit hours to be taken in public policy and public management courses, while at least one of these two areas was absent from the core curriculum elsewhere. More importantly, the results revealed where the programs put their relative emphases in teaching public affairs in the core. Overall, programs required the most core hours in public management, followed by methods, public policy, and public administration. Almost half of the programs in the sample devoted between 11 and 20 percent of core hours each to public administration, public

policy, and methods courses; one-third required 41-50% of core hours to be taken in public management courses.

In addition, most programs required between 36 and 45 total hours to receive a degree. Over two-thirds of the programs devoted 41 to 60% of these total hours to core courses. Meanwhile, half of the programs offered between one and five concentrations.

Most programs in the sample were affiliated only with NASPAA, and over half were accredited by NASPAA. Political science departments remained the most common organizational setting for programs. Most programs were located in public universities, and almost three-fourths were first established in 1970 or later. Only one-fifth of the programs in the sample were included among the top 50 programs in either the 1998 or the 2001 rankings by *U.S. News & World Report*. Most programs claimed that their missions included educating students to be public managers, followed by producing public leaders and policy analysts. The most common degree the programs offer was the MPAd, followed by the MPP.

Multiple Institutional Logics

The primary indicators of institutional logic were a master's program's affiliation and accreditation status. Whether a program was affiliated with NASPAA, APPAM, or both made a difference in organizational belief systems and in program design.

Programs affiliated only with NASPAA were more likely to focus on preparing students to be public managers, while those affiliated only with APPAM were more likely to emphasize training students to be policy analysts. Although programs affiliated only with NASPAA were somewhat more likely than others to have the program mission of generating public leaders, the difference was not statistically significant. Meanwhile, programs affiliated only with NASPAA were likely to offer MPAd degrees, while MPP degrees were more likely to be granted by programs affiliated only with APPAM and by programs affiliated with both NASPAA and APPAM. Few changes appeared in the relationships between program affiliation and mission and between program affiliation and degree type when accreditation status was held constant.

At least as institutional logic was measured here, it was not related to all aspects of program design. For example, no statistically significant differences appeared between

accredited and unaccredited programs in the number of total credit hours required for a degree. Nor were there differences in the proportions of core credit hours in public administration or in specific levels of government between programs affiliated with and accredited by NASPAA and those affiliated with APPAM and unaccredited by NASPAA. At the same time, NASPAA-affiliated and accredited programs required more core hours in public management and methods, while APPAM-affiliated and unaccredited programs required more hours in public policy. Yet, there were some changes in the relationships between affiliation/accreditation and curricular components when other variables were introduced. The multiple regression analyses showed that affiliation/accreditation had statistically significant relationships only with the proportions of core hours in public administration and in public policy courses.

Organizational Positions

The second independent variable, organizational positions, also had varying relations with program design. For example, programs lodged in political science, public administration, and business units required more core public management hours than did those in public policy units. In contrast, programs in public policy units required more core credit hours in public policy than did those housed in other kinds of units. Programs in business units required fewer core hours to be taken in methods courses than did those in public policy units. Meanwhile, no statistically significant mean differences were found in the proportions of core credit hours in public administration or in specific levels of government among the five organizational settings.

In terms of curricular structure, programs in political science required fewer total credit hours than those in public affairs and public policy units. Programs in business units required the most core hours, and programs housed in public policy units offered more concentration areas than those in political science units. Although I discovered no statistically significant differences in the number of concentrations offered by programs in private and public universities, I did find that programs ranked in the "upper-tier" were likely to offer more concentrations and to require more total credit hours. Compared to programs founded in 1970 or later, older programs required fewer core hours in public management and more total credit hours; they also offered more concentration areas.

Yet, of the bivariate relationships that were statistically significant, multivariate analyses revealed no significant relationships, except for those between organizational setting and the number of total hours to complete a program, between organizational setting and the proportion of total credit hours in the core, and between reputation and the number of concentrations.

Organizational Belief Systems

The third contextual factor, organizational belief systems, was an intermediate variable in the framework. Considered alone, it had a range of relationships with program design. For example, programs whose missions were to produce public managers were likely to focus more on teaching public management courses in the core than those with other missions. Programs whose missions were to train students to be policy analysts required more core hours in public policy and offered more concentration areas than those with other missions. Although programs whose missions were to educate students to be public leaders allotted a higher proportion of core hours to public administration than those with other missions, the relationship was not statistically significant. The type of degree offered also was related to the curriculum. MPAd programs required higher proportions of core hours to be taken in public administration and in public management than did MPP programs. In contrast, MPP programs devoted a larger proportion of core credit hours to public policy than did either MPAd or MPAf programs. Lastly, MPAd programs required fewer hours in methods than MPP programs. Overall, MPAd programs required fewer total hours and offered fewer concentrations than MPP programs.

Yet, only relationships between program mission and the proportions of core credit hours in public administration and public policy courses and between degree type and the proportions of core credit hours in public management and public policy courses were statistically significant in the multivariate analyses.

Performance of the Framework

In this study, the conceptual framework suggested that three contextual factors – multiple institutional logics, organizational positions, and organizational belief systems –

would be likely to influence the institutional design of masters' programs. Overall, the framework performed fairly well in capturing the relationships between and among the variables. First, results of both the bivariate and the multivariate analyses supported the hypothesized link between institutional logics and organizational belief systems. Depending on whether they were affiliated with NASPAA or APPAM, programs tended to claim varying missions and to offer different degrees.

In addition, both bivariate and multivariate analyses offered support for the framework's expectations that program design was likely to be influenced by the three contextual factors. In particular, two kinds of programs could be distinguished.[188] The first, traditional public administration programs, were affiliated mainly with NASPAA; were located in political science, public affairs, and public administration units; had been ranked in the lower-tier; had missions of producing public managers; offered MPAd degrees; and were likely to stress teaching public administration and public management courses in the core. Second, public policy programs were members of APPAM, were housed in public policy schools, had been ranked in the upper-tier, had missions of generating policy analysts, awarded MPP degrees, and tended to highlight public policy courses and to offer more concentrations.

The multivariate results also showed differing links between the dependent and independent variables. For instance, the proportion of core hours in public management was mainly influenced by program reputation and degree type; the proportion of core hours in public policy was related not only to these two variables but also to affiliation/ accreditation and educational mission. These findings, too, provide evident support for the framework.

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[188]. In general, I found stronger relationships between the three contextual factors and the curricular components and structure in public policy programs than in traditional public administration programs. This implies that one may find more curricular similarities in the former than the latter. Related to this, Lynn argued: "The public policy curriculum has become an example of institutional isomorphism. Even though public policy programs at many universities exhibit distinctive normative environments, the core structures of these curriculums are, despite local variations, quite similar" (2001: 161).

Implications

Public Affairs

The empirical purpose of this study was to investigate whether and why variations exist in the design of masters' programs in public affairs. I uncovered variations in both the coverage and the structure of program curricula as well as some possible influences. What might these findings tell one about public affairs education in the United States?

Program design, as I conceive it, reflects a program's identity (or identities) in both the structure and the components of its curriculum. For instance, academic units strive to enhance the attractiveness of their programs by emphasizing some aspects over others. In Chapter Four, I anticipated that the proportion of total credit hours assigned to the core would give a clearer sense of relative emphasis than the simple number of credit hours required in core courses. The programs in the sample required more than half of the total credit hours to be taken in core courses. Furthermore, this variable failed to be significantly related to any of the indicators of the three contextual factors, except for those for organizational setting. This implies that public affairs programs have tried to maintain a balance between providing students with general knowledge about public affairs and promoting specialized knowledge in particular areas related to their future careers. This conclusion also is supported by the findings that programs in public policy schools appear to emphasize broad understanding of public affairs contexts where public administrators inevitably are involved and to accentuate the role of public administrators as public leaders in policy making situations – which moves beyond a more limited role as policy analysts.[189]

Second, the distinction between the two broad types of programs discussed above suggests that the educational field of public affairs is polarized into two camps. This is quite consistent with Cleary's (1990) finding that such differences remain prominent, but unlike Roeder and Whitaker's (1993: 535) conclusion that "the overt differences public

[189]. Similarly, Weimer stated: "Because I believe skill in policy analysis is an important resource for public managers, just as I believe familiarity with public administration is a valuable resource for policy analysts, I think the thrust of my comments will nonetheless be relevant to the issues addressed in the context of the design of MPA programs" (2003: 39).

administration and public policy programs have eroded over time." Indeed, since the creation of APPAM, traditional public administration and public policy programs evidently have competed with each other over interpreting the identity of public affairs. The differing interpretations of what public affairs is and accompanying ideas of how it should be taught seemingly have generated much of the variation in the design of masters' programs.

Lastly, Breaux, et al. (2003: 260) observed that accreditation has served as "a centripetal force that results in similarities" among accredited programs. Although the influence of accreditation on program design was not quite as clear in this study, looking at the results of the relationships between affiliation/accreditation and program design provides glimpses of the possible impact of the accreditation. In the empirical analysis, Groups 1 and 4 contained programs accredited by NASPAA. Except for the proportion of core hours required to be taken in public management and public policy and the number of concentration areas (key in distinguishing traditional public administration from public policy programs), no differences between the groups appeared in the rest of the design indicators. This may suggest that accreditation has to some extent helped assure the integrity of masters' programs in public affairs.

Organizational Theory

This study introduced a conceptual framework to explain institutional variation that used a multilevel approach. The results of the bivariate and multivariate tests based on that framework suggest several implications for organizational scholarship.

First, the findings underscore the importance of the comprehensive framework for accounting for institutional differences (and similarities), which accentuates looking across levels of analysis to capture complex dynamics when investigating the design of institutions. The simple assertion that all organizations are different adds little. Similarly, claims by early new institutionalists about the ubiquity of organizational isomorphism are limited, since they focused only on seeming similarities that appeared in organizational fields. If one takes a closer look at the fields, however, he/she may find considerable variations in institutional design among organizations. Although one may find a dominant characteristic that indicates that an organizational field as a whole has adopted an

institution (isomorphism), the field may well include individual organizations with varying ways of designing that institution (differences). Here, for instance, the field of public affairs can be defined as offering masters' programs in public affairs (similarity). Many of those programs, however, are designed in varying ways at the level of individual academic units (differences). Furthermore, similarity and difference are relative concepts: they rely on what one looks at and compares at which level. Among programs affiliated with NASPAA, some variations in program design depended on organizational location in the population. These findings are consistent with the view that institutional similarities and differences may emerge due not only to institutional pressures at the field level but also because of organizational positions at the population level and of organizational belief systems at the organizational level. The results imply as well that the three levels are interdependent and that the three contextual factors may work as both convergent and divergent forces in shaping institutional design.

Second, the results of this study suggest the possibility of expanding the idea of niches. According to Aldrich, "[o]rganizational populations can be identified that have *unit character*, responding in similar ways to environmental forces. Populations are dependent upon distinct combinations of resources – called *niches* – supporting them" (1999: 43; emphases in original). This definition of niches implies that niches exist in populations and that the type of resources available is a key factor in determining niches. Yet, the work reported here might be interpreted as indicating both that niches do not exist solely in organizational populations and that niches can be characterized by more than available resources. Together, the three contextual factors might be conceived as *institutional niches*, to which organizations may resort when designing institutions; an institutional niche is likely to convey different logics, expectations, demands, ideas and beliefs about how an institution should be designed. Organizations are likely to actively seek such niches when designing institutions. Such niche-searching involves the identification of ideas, values, and goals. At the level of individual human beings, identification is a cognitive link between the attributes of a person's self-concept and the perceived organizational identity (Dutton, et al. 1993: 239; Rindova & Schultz 1998: 51). Likewise, at the organizational level of analysis, "identification" involves a link between an institutional niche and an institutional design. The identification is likely to reinforce

congruence in the ways that the selected niches' ideas, logics, expectations, demands, and beliefs are reflected in institutional design. Here, for instance, programs affiliated with NASPAA and offering MPAd degrees were likely to share particular features in designing their masters' programs, creating traditional public administration programs that emphasize delivering knowledge and skills in managing public organizations in the core. They differ from those affiliated with APPAM and granting MPP degrees – public policy programs that stress public policy courses in their education. This helps show that the particular linkage between institutional niches and design is likely to shape the distinctive characteristic(s) of an institution – its identity. It suggests as well that the varying linkages themselves may influence the differences in institutional design among organizations.

Third, although an organization is constrained by external factors such as multiple institutional logics and organizational positions, it tends to deliberately design institutions in a distinctive way for competitive advantage (Bell, Taylor, & Thorpe 2002; Pedersen & Dobbin 1997). This implies that, when designing institutions, organizations may struggle to compromise internal motives of differentiation with external demands and expectations. Although this study did not explicitly examine the influences of organizations on the environment, it argued that organizations are not helpless followers of the institutional environment to the extent that they strove to adapt; organizational belief systems help them actively interpret the institutional environment. More importantly, because of their likely divergence at different levels of analysis, organizations are apt to face varying combinations of institutional niches and to actively engage in niche-searching activities by choosing particular combinations of institutional niches. In this study, the five combinations of program affiliation and accreditation were viewed as consequences of academic units' choices of their institutional niches. These choices in turn entailed differences in the design of their programs. Explanation of the relationships between the three contextual factors and institutional design by focusing on niche-searching activities (the choices of institutional niches) suggests a way to reconcile determinism and voluntarism, as Carney and Gedajlovic (2002) proposed.

Fourth, I contended that variation in institutional design might be affected by the three factors that embed a variety of distinctive identities to which organizations may

resort in designing institutions. Again, in the empirical analyses, I identified two different kinds of programs that had different connections with the three contextual factors, and I found that these factors had differing influences on the design of masters' programs. Such findings suggest that distinctive identities may exist at varying levels of analysis and that each identity has a specific influence on institutional design. This evidently demonstrates the utility of the concept of identity that can provide considerable insight into understanding why organizations choose particular structures and components of institutions, which in turn may help explain variation of institutional designs. Moreover, the idea of identity may show the usefulness of the framework for explaining how institutions within organizations come to have distinctive designs and how and why organizations are likely to fashion and sustain them.

More importantly, this triggers one final implication. The organizational literature long has been divided into two spheres: organizational theory and behavior. The former has focused primarily on the relationships between organizational structures and external environments, while the latter has stressed illuminating the psychological aspects of organizational life. This study ultimately suggests a way of combining them by providing a comprehensive framework that explains institutional differences using the concept of identity that helps account for organizational behavior within the sphere of institutional theory.

Suggestions for Future Study

Like most studies, this one also suffered from the lack of measurable variables in probing the design of public affairs masters' programs. Future study might be devoted to examining program features more comprehensively and to developing tools for better measuring curricular components and structures. For instance, one of the dimensions that this study examined was whether a program was designed to encourage students to understand the broad contexts of public affairs or to produce technical specialists who focus narrowly on particular areas in public affairs (Barth 2002; Clark 1970). Future work also might explore the dimensions of theory versus practice[190] and normative versus

[190]. See Denhardt (2001) for further discussion of this dimension.

analytical in the design of masters' programs (Barth 2002; King, Britton, & Missik 1996; Hejka-Ekins 1998; Tompkins, Laslovich, & Greene 1996). For example, is a program designed to provide an intellectual foundation in public affairs or to help students in developing analytical and managerial techniques? Similarly, is a program designed to help students understand the normative aspects of public affairs by exposing them to the values and norms that undergird public affairs or to equip them with analytical skills to make them more technically competent?[191]

To theoretically and empirically probe the effects of the institutional environment on the design of institutions, this study focused primarily on the two major professional associations in public affairs that offer differing logics about how masters' programs should be designed. Yet, the design of these programs (institutions) can be affected by factors other than the associations. Therefore, it is necessary for the future study of organizations and public affairs to consider additional institutional logics, available from a variety of institutional intermediaries, in probing the possible impact of the institutional environment on differences in institutional design. Wolf's studies (1996; 2003), for instance, hint at how multiple institutional frameworks affect organizations, suggesting several contexts that may influence the activity of public agencies.[192] One possible direction for future study would be to identify additional contexts of public affairs practice and to examine their possible influences on the design of public affairs masters' programs. Since the 1990s, for instance, public agencies have undergone radical changes in their administrative contexts because of "rising public demand for more cost-effective, accountable, and result-oriented service delivery" (Goldenkoff 2001: 31). In line with the NPM movement, which has produced fundamental changes in the role and purpose of government (Ventriss 2000), the stress on constructing policy networks with

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[191]. Similarly, Roeder and Whitaker (1993: 536) asked: "[D]o MPA programs with more of an analytic curriculum tend to promote the value of market competition as opposed to the value of collective goods and the public interest embodied in government?"

[192]. Wolf suggested six contexts in his earlier work: bureaucracy, markets, organizations, networks, institutions, and communities. Later, his list included: organizations/agencies, bureaucratic and program routinization, politics, law, professions, management, and markets.

nongovernmental organizations has created new forms of delivering public services (Milward 1994; Provan & Milward 1991; 1995). Other changes in administrative context have taken place thanks to the rapid development of information technology, which has already generated "new categories of organizational activity, such as technology policy, technology development, information resources management, and telecommunications management…" (Kalu 2001: 325). In particular, the emergence of "e-government" has dramatically changed ways that governments deliver public services and engage citizens by using electronic media such as the Internet (O'Neill 2000). Future work might probe whether these new contexts affect the design of masters' programs in public affairs. For example, do these new contexts influence the curricula of masters' programs in a way that emphasizes public and nonprofit management courses? Do these contexts push masters' programs toward adding or stressing information technology or e-government courses in their curricula?

For the last two decades, research on interorganizational networks has flourished in organizational scholarship. As earlier new institutionalists argued, interorganizational ties may play important roles in shaping institutional design by promoting adaptation and facilitating social learning of adaptive responses within a network. Closer examination of the influences of such networks may contribute to exploring the impact of organizational positions on the design of institutions. Relatedly, investigation of the effects of interorganizational relationships among academic units in terms of their geographic, ideological, and demographic proximities also is a promising area for future study. In a longitudinal study for 230 private colleges, for example, Kraatz (1998) found that intercollegiate consortia influenced colleges' endeavors to adapt their core features to external forces. Currently, several consortia exist in public affairs.[193] In addition, a variety of professional networks have emerged in the field of public affairs, such as the Public Administration Theory Network (PAT-Net) that provides a forum for discussing how public affairs should be studied. Future work might explore the impact of these

[193]. For example, the Consortium of Washington Area Universities, the Arkansas Public Administration Consortium (APAC), and the University System of Georgia.

networks on program design.[194] This study only probed private versus public dimension in the setting of university. Future study might look at additional dimensions such as reputation and size of university.

In addition, this study did not examine the internal dynamics of power relations in organizations. Yet, "institutionalization is a political process – imbued with power and individual interests" (Zilber 2002: 236). In part, it is a process of compromising and negotiating the understandings (or interpretations) of groups (or individual members) of the external forces. Further study of the process of institutionalization may be needed to better grasp such aspects at the organizational level. Differing interests and beliefs among a program's faculty members and between faculty and students may call for compromises over which courses should be offered and how they should be structured. Future study might be devoted to illuminating how academic units institutionalize their curricular components and structures by using a process approach. Newcomer indicated: "One of the most difficult puzzles we confront as a faculty today is creating a shared sense of what our students need, how we can structure a curriculum to address these needs, finally, how we can prepare ourselves to implement what we decide upon and to anticipate what we cannot envision" (2003: 38). Future work might focus on revealing issues such as the process of decision making on curricular components and structure and whether mechanisms exist and how they work to reflect the needs and expectations of students in program curricula.

People can make differences. Organizations are likely to differ depending on the kinds of people they are composed of. This may imply that a closer investigation of organizational members is needed to help account for variation in institutional design. One possible way to do this would be to examine the educational backgrounds of faculty members, which may show their theoretical orientations, interests, and specialties in particular areas. Future study might examine the relationship between faculty education and program design. Do program designs, particularly the curricular components and the

[194]. For instance, the Arkansas Public Administration Consortium (APAC) has a co-operative internship program.

areas of concentration differ, for example, depending on the educational backgrounds of faculty members?

"Institutionalization…is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization's own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment" (Selznick 1984: 16). In other words, an institution is a "hostage to its own history" (Selznick 1992: 232). And "this history is compounded of discernible and repetitive modes of responding to internal and external pressures" (Selznick 1984: 16). It is likely that the identity of an organization is determined by actions taken during the founding period and at some crucial defining moments in its history. In the design of a master's program, the ideas and beliefs of the founders usually have a major impact on what courses are offered and how the curriculum is structured. Yet, even though some aspects of a program may have been highly institutionalized, other dimensions may have experienced some substantial changes because of, for instance, paradigm shifts in public affairs, the entrance and exit of faculty, or the restructuring of the organizational setting, all of which might influence program identity over time. Each program might have taken a different path in institutionalizing curricular components and structure, which has entailed constructing and maintaining (or transforming) program identity(ies). One desirable direction for future study would be tracing changes in programs, employing an historical approach. For instance, how have masters' programs in public affairs altered their curricular components and structures?

Study comparing public affairs with other fields would be useful for exploring the possibilities for generalizing. For instance, Casile and Davis-Blake (2002) examined the impact of two competing professional associations, the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) and the Association of Collegiate Business School and Programs (ACBSP), on MBA programs; both associations provide different types of accreditation. Their study might be compared with mine, at least on the influence of multiple institutional logics on programs. Alternatively, a comparative study could be conducted using a limited number of variables, for it is almost impossible to cover all aspects of program design.

Neither the conceptual framework nor the statistical testing in this study included the possibility of interactions among the variables. Further empirical analysis might uncover such relationships. For instance, founding period might interact with program mission, with distinctive effects on curricular structure. More generally, other operationalizations of key variables might be tried and alternative specifications of the relationships proposed in testing the framework. This study also did not examine the possible influences of organization on the external environment or the possible impact of institutional design on the three contextual factors.

Rather clearly, some of the possibilities for future study would be difficult to pursue. In part, this is because the study of program design has been relatively untouched in the field of public affairs. Nonetheless, it is quite evident that research on program design should be continued, because it is directly related to the essential issue of the identity of public affairs. Likewise, continuing efforts to elaborate on, and to empirically test, the framework to account for institutional similarities and differences also appear to be called for. In my view, continuing work with the concepts of institutional niches and identities promise to both enrich institutional analysis and to provide fuller explanations of institutional similarities and differences.

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APPENDIX I PROGRAM RANKINGS

1998 PUBLIC AFFAIRS SCHOOLS' RANKINGS
PUBLISHED IN *U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT*

Rank	School	Average Reputation Score
1	Syracuse University	4.5
2	Harvard University	4.4
3	Indiana University – Bloomington	4.2
	Princeton University	4.2
5	University of California – Berkeley	4.1
	University of Georgia	4.1
	University of Texas - Austin	4.1
8	Carnegie-Mellon University	4.0
	University of Michigan – Ann Arbor	4.0
	University of Southern California	4.0
11	Duke University	3.9
	SUNY – Albany	3.9
14	University of Wisconsin-Madison	3.9
	American University	3.8
	University of Chicago	3.8
	University of Kansas	3.8
	University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill	3.8
18	Columbia University	3.7
	University of Minnesota – Twin Cities	3.7
20	George Washington University	3.6
	Rand Grad School of Policy Studies	3.6
	University of Maryland – College Park	3.6
	University of Pittsburgh	3.6
	University of Washington	3.6
	Virginia Tech	3.6
26	Cornell University	3.5
	New York University	3.5
	University of California – Los Angeles	3.5
	Yale University	3.5
30	Arizona State University	3.4
	Georgetown University	3.4
	Johns Hopkins University	3.4
	Ohio State University	3.4
	University of Arizona	3.4
	University of Rochester	3.4

Rank	School	Average Reputation Score
36	Florida State University	3.3
	Georgia State University	3.3
	University of Colorado –Denver	3.3
	University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign	3.3
	University of Pennsylvania	3.3
42	Cleveland State University	3.2
	George Mason University	3.2
	Northwestern University	3.2
48	Rutgers University – New Brunswick	3.2
	University of Nebraska – Omaha	3.2
	University of Virginia	3.2
	Naval Postgraduate School	3.1
	New School for Social Research	3.1
	Northern Illinois University	3.1
	University of Missouri-Columbia	3.1

2001 PUBLIC AFFAIRS SCHOOLS' RANKINGS
PUBLISHED IN *U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT*

Rank	School	Average Reputation Score
1	Harvard University	4.5
	Syracuse University	4.5
3	Indiana University – Bloomington	4.2
4	Princeton University	4.2
	University of California – Berkeley	4.2
6	University of Georgia	4.0
7	Carnegie-Mellon University	3.9
	University of Michigan – Ann Arbor	3.9
	University of Southern California	3.9
	University of Texas - Austin	3.9
11	University of Wisconsin-Madison	3.8
12	American University	3.7
	Columbia University	3.7
	SUNY – Albany	3.7
	University of Chicago	3.7
	University of Kansas	3.7
	University of Minnesota – Twin Cities	3.7
	University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill	3.7
19	Duke University	3.6
	George Washington University	3.6
	New York University	3.6
	University of Maryland – College Park	3.6
	University of Pittsburgh	3.6
24	Arizona State University	3.5
	Florida State University	3.5
	University of California – Los Angeles	3.5
	University of Washington	3.5
	Virginia Tech	3.5
29	Georgetown University	3.4
	Johns Hopkins University	3.4

Rank	School	Average Reputation Score
31	Georgia State University	3.3
	University of Arizona	3.3
	University of Kentucky	3.3
	University of Nebraska – Omaha	3.3
35	Cleveland State University	3.2
	Cornell University	3.2
	Ohio State University	3.2
	University of Colorado –Denver	3.2
	University of Missouri-Columbia	3.2
	University of Pennsylvania	3.2
41	North Carolina State University	3.1
	Northern Illinois University	3.1
	Rutgers University – Newark	3.1
	University of Delaware	3.1
	University of Utah	3.1
	University of Rochester	3.1
46	CUNY Baruch College	3.0
	George Mason University	3.0
	Naval Postgraduate School	3.0
	Rutgers University – New Brunswick	3.0
	Texas A & M – College Station	3.0

APPENDIX II INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND ACCREDITATION STATUS

State	NASPAA member	APPAM member	Member of both
AL	Auburn Univ., Auburn: Dept. of Political Science* Auburn Univ., Montgomery: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.* Troy State Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm. Univ. of Alabama, Birmingham: Dept. of Political Science & Public Affairs* Univ. of Alabama, Tuscaloosa: Dept. of Political Science		
AK	Univ. of Alaska, Anchorage: Dept. of Public Adm., College of Business & Public Policy Univ. of Alaska, Southeast: Public Adm. Program		
AZ			Arizona State Univ.: School of Public Affairs* The Univ. of Arizona School of Public Adm. & Policy*
AR	Arkansas State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science* Univ. of Arkansas, Fayetteville Dept. of Political Science Univ. of Arkansas, Little Rock: Graduate Program in Public Adm.*		
	California State Univ., Bakersfield: Dept. of Public Policy and Adm.*	California Polytechnic State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science	California State Univ., Sacramento: Dept. of Public Policy and Adm.

CA	California State Univ., Chico: Public Adm. Program* California State Univ., Dominguez Hills: Dept. of Public Adm.* California State Univ., Fresno: Dept. of Political Science* California State Univ., Fullerton: Division of Criminal Justice & Political Science* California State Univ., Hayward: Dept. of Public Adm.* California State Univ., Long Beach: Center of Public Policy and Adm.* California State Univ., Los Angeles: Dept. of Political Science* California State Univ., Northridge: Dept. of Political Science California State Univ., San Bernardino: Dept. of Public Adm.* California State Univ., Stanislaus: Dept. of Politics & Public Adm.* California State Polytechnic Univ., Pomona: Political Science Dept. Monterey Institute of International Studies: Graduate School of International Policy Studies	Pepperdine Univ.: School of Public Policy Univ. of California, Berkeley: Goldman School of Public Policy	Univ. of California, Los Angeles: School of Public Policy & Social Research Univ. of Southern California: School of Policy, Planning, and Development*

	San Diego State Univ.: School of Public Adm. & Urban Studies* San Francisco State Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm.* San Jose State Univ.: Public Adm. Program* Univ. of La Verne: Dept. of Public Adm.* Univ. of San Francisco: College of Professional Studies		
CO		Univ. of Denver: Institute for Public Policy Studies, Graduate Program in Public Policy	Univ. of Colorado, Denver and Colorado Springs: Graduate School of Public Affairs*
CT	Univ. of Connecticut: Master of Public Affairs Program* Univ. of New Haven: Dept. of Public Mgt.		
DE			Univ. of Delaware, Newark: School of Urban Affairs & Public Policy*
DC	Univ. of the District of Columbia: School of Business and Public Adm. Mgt., Marketing & Information Systems		American Univ.: School of Public Affairs* Georgetown Univ.: Public Policy Institute The George Washington Univ.: School of Public Policy & Administration
	Florida Atlantic Univ.: School of Public Adm.* Florida Gulf Coast Univ.: Division of Public Adm. Nova Southeastern Univ.: School of Business & Entrepreneurship The Florida State Univ.:		Florida International Univ.: School of Policy and Mgt.*

FL	Reubin O'D. Askew School of Public Adm. & Policy* Univ. of Central Florida: Dept. of Public Adm.* Univ. of Miami: Public Adm. Program Univ. of North Florida: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.* Univ. of South Florida: Dept. of Government & International Affairs* The Univ. of West Florida: Dept. of Adm. & Justice Studies*		
GA	Augusta State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Albany State Univ.: Dept. of History & Political Science Clark Atlanta Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm.* Columbus State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Georgia College & State Univ.: Dept. of Government & Sociology* Georgia Southern Univ.: Master of Public Adm. Program* Kennesaw State Univ.: A.L. Burruss Institute of Public Service Savannah State Univ.: Master of Public Adm. Program* State Univ. of West		Georgia Institute of Technology: School of Public Policy Georgia State Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm. & Urban Studies* The Univ. of Georgia: School of Public & International Affairs*

	Georgia: Dept. of Political Science & Planning* Valdosta State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science*		
HI	Univ. of Hawaii: Public Adm. Program		
ID	Boise State Univ.: Dept. of Public Policy & Adm.* Univ. of Idaho: Dept. of Political Science		
IL	DePaul Univ.: Public Services Graduate Program* Governors State Univ.: College of Business & Public Adm.* Northern Illinois Univ.: Division of Public Adm.* Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale: Dept. of Political Science* Southern Illinois Univ., Edwardsville: Dept. of Public Adm. & Policy Analysis* Univ. of Illinois, Chicago Graduate: Program in Public Adm.* Univ. of Illinois, Springfield: School of Public Affairs and Adm.*		Univ. of Chicago: Harris School of Public Policy
IN	Indiana State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Indiana Univ.-Purdue Univ., Ft. Wayne: School of Public & Environmental Affairs* Indiana Univ., Northwest: Division of Public & Environmental Affairs*		Indiana Univ., Bloomington: School of Public & Environmental Affairs (SPEA)* Indiana Univ.-Purdue Univ., Indianapolis School of Public & Environmental Affairs*

	Indiana Univ., South Bend: School of Public & Environmental Affairs*		
IA	Drake Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm. Iowa State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science		
KS	Kansas State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science* Univ. of Kansas: Dept. of Public Adm.* Wichita State Univ.: Hugo Wall School of Urban & Public Affairs*		
KY	Eastern Kentucky Univ.: Dept. of Government* Kentucky State Univ.: School of Public Adm.* Murray State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Legal Studies Northern Kentucky Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Univ. of Louisville: College of Business & Public Adm.* Western Kentucky Univ.: Dept. of Government		Univ. of Kentucky: Martin School of Public Policy & Adm.*
LA	Grambling State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.* Louisiana State Univ.: Public Adm. Institute Southern Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm.* Univ. of New Orleans: College of Urban & Public Affairs		
	Univ. of Maine: Dept. of		Univ. of Southern Maine:

ME	Public Adm.*		Edmund S. Muskie Institute of Public Affairs*
MD	Univ. of Baltimore: Dept. of Government & Public Adm.*		The Johns Hopkins Univ.: Institute of Policy Studies Univ. of Maryland, Baltimore County: Policy Sciences Graduate Program* Univ. of Maryland, College Park: School of Public Affairs
MA	Bridgewater State College: Dept. of Political Science Clark Univ.: College of Professional & Continuing Education Northeastern Univ.: Dept. of Political Science* Suffolk Univ.: Dept. of Public Mgt.* Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston: John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs		Harvard Univ.: JFK School of Government Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst: Center for Public Policy & Adm.
MI	Central Michigan Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Eastern Michigan Univ.: Master of Public Adm. Program* Grand Valley State Univ.: School of Public Adm.* Michigan State Univ.: Program in Public Policy & Adm.* Northern Michigan Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm. Oakland Univ.: Dept. of Political Science*		Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor: Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy

	The Univ. of Michigan, Dearborn: Public Adm. Program Wayne State Univ.: Graduate Program in Public Adm.* Western Michigan Univ.: School of Public Affairs & Adm.*		
MN			Univ. of Minnesota: Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs
MS	Jackson State Univ.: Dept. of Public Policy & Adm.* Mississippi State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science*		
MO	Park University The Hauptmann School of Public Affairs Saint Louis Univ.: Dept. of Public Policy Studies & Adm.* Southwest Missouri State Univ.: MPA Program* Univ. of Missouri-Kansas City: Henry W. Bloch School of Business & Public Adm.*		Univ. of Missouri-Columbia: Harry S Truman School of Public Affairs* Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis: Public Policy Adm.*
MT	Montana State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science		
NE			Univ. of Nebraska, Omaha College of Public Affairs & Community Service*
NV	Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas: Public Adm. Program*		
NJ	Fairleigh Dickinson Univ.: Public Adm. Institute Kean Univ.: Master of Public Adm. Program* Rutgers Univ., Camden: Graduate Dept. of Public	Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick: Bloustein School of Planning & Public Policy	Princeton Univ.: Woodrow Wilson School

	Policy & Adm.* Rutgers Univ., Newark Graduate Dept. of Public Adm.* Seton Hall Univ.: Center for Public Service*		
NM	New Mexico State Univ.: Dept. of Government* The Univ. of New Mexico: School of Public Adm.*		
NY	Binghamton Univ.: Dept. of Political Science John Jay College, CUNY Dept. of Public Mgt. Long Island Univ., Brooklyn: Public Adm. Program Long Island Univ., C.W. Post: Dept. of Health Care & Public Adm.* Marist College: MPA Program Pace Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm. SUNY, College at Brockport: Dept. of Public Adm.* SUNY, Univ. at Stony Brook: Harriman School for Mgt. & Policy		Baruch College/City Univ. of New York: School of Public Affairs* Columbia Univ.: School of International & Public Affairs Cornell Univ.: Institute for Public Affairs New York Univ.: Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service* SUNY, Univ. at Albany: Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy* Syracuse Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm.*
	Appalachian State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Criminal Justice* East Carolina Univ.: Dept. of Political Science* North Carolina Central Univ.: Public Adm.		Duke Univ.: Sanford Institute of Public Policy

NC	Program North Carolina State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.* The Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: School of Government The Univ. of North Carolina, Charlotte: Master of Public Adm. Program* The Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro Department of Political Science* The Univ. of North Carolina, Pembroke: Master of Science in Public Mgt. The Univ. of North Carolina, Wilmington: Dept. of Political Science Western Carolina Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Public Affairs		
ND	Univ. of North Dakota: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.		
OH	Bowling Green State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Cleveland State Univ.: Levin College of Urban Affairs* Ohio Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Univ. of Akron: Dept. of Public Adm. & Urban Studies The Univ. of Dayton		Kent State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science* The Ohio State Univ.: School of Public Policy and Mgt.*

	Dept. of Political Science Univ. of Toledo: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.*		
OK	Univ. of Oklahoma: Dept. of Political Science		
OR	Portland State Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm.* Univ. of Oregon: Dept. of Planning*		
PA	Marywood Univ.: Dept. of Public Adm. The Pennsylvania State Univ., Harrisburg: School of Public Affairs* Shippensburg Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Villanova Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Widener Univ.: Master of Public Adm.		Carnegie Mellon Univ.: The Heinz School Of Public Policy & Mgt.* Univ. of Pennsylvania Fels Institute of Government Univ. of Pittsburgh: Graduate School of Public & International Affairs*
RI	Rhode Island College: Political Science Dept.		
SC	Clemson Univ.: Dept. of Political Science College of Charleston: Joseph P. Riley, Jr. Institute for Urban Affairs & Policy Studies* Univ. of South Carolina: Dept. of Government & International Studies*		
SD	Univ. of South Dakota: Dept. of Political Science*		
	East Tennessee State Univ.: Master of Public Mgt. Program Tennessee State Univ.: Institute of Government* The Univ. of Memphis:		

TN	Graduate Program of Public Adm.* The Univ. of Tennessee, Chattanooga: Dept. of Political Science* The Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville: Dept. of Political Science*		
TX	Midwestern State Univ.: Division of Political Science & Public Adm. Stephen F. Austin State Univ.: Public Adm. Program Texas A&M International Univ.: Dept. of Social Sciences Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi: College of Arts & Humanities Texas Southern University Dept. of Public Affairs Texas State Univ., San Marcos: Dept. of Political Science* Texas Tech Univ.: Center for Public Service* Univ. of North Texas Dept. of Public Adm.* Univ. of Houston, Central Campus: Public Adm. Program Univ. of Texas, Arlington: Institute of Urban Studies* University of Texas, El Paso: Dept. of Political Science* Univ. of Texas, Pan		Texas A&M Univ.: George Bush School of Government and Public Service Univ. of Texas, Austin Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs* Univ. of Texas, Dallas School of Social Sciences*

	American: Dept. of Political Science Univ. of Texas at San Antonio: Dept. of Public Adm. University of Texas, Tyler: Dept. of Social Science		
UT	Brigham Young Univ.: George W. Romney Institute of Public Mgt.* The Univ. of Utah: Public Adm. Program*		
VT	Univ. of Vermont: Master of Public Adm. Program		
VA	George Mason Univ.: Dept. of Public & International Affairs* James Madison Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Old Dominion Univ.: Graduate Center for Urban Studies & Public Adm.* Virginia Commonwealth Univ.: Dept. of Political Science & Public Adm.* Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State Univ.: Center for Public Adm. & Policy*		College of William & Mary: Thomas Jefferson Program in Public Policy George Mason Univ.: School of Public Policy
WA	Evergreen State College: Graduate Program in Public Adm. Seattle Univ.: Institute of Public Service Washington State Univ.: Dept. of Political Science Eastern Washington Univ.: Public Adm. Program		Univ. of Washington Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs
WV	West Virginia Univ.:		

	Division of Public Adm.*		
WI	Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee: Master of Public Adm. Program Univ. of Wisconsin, Oshkosh: Public Affairs Dept.		Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison: La Follette School of Public Affairs
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EDUCATION

Aug. 2004	Doctor of Philosophy, Center for Public Administration and Policy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University □ Dissertation Title: "An Institutional Analysis of Differences: The Design of Masters' Programs in Public Affairs."
May 1998	Master of Public Administration, Department of Public Administration, West Virginia University
Feb. 1991	Master's Degree in Public Administration, Department of Public Administration, the Graduate School of Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea □ Thesis Title: "An Empirical Study on the Determinants of Organizational Effectiveness in the Korean Public Departments – With the Emphasis upon the Relationships among Environment, Management Strategy, Structure, and Organizational Effectiveness"
Feb. 1989	Bachelor's Degree in Public Administration, Department of Public Administration, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea

EXPERIENCES

Aug. 2002 Aug. 2003	Survey Research Analyst, Institute for Policy Outreach
Jan. 2001 May 2002	Graduate Assistant, the Center for Public Administration and Policy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Aug.1999 May 2000	Graduate Assistant, Center for Gerontology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Jan. 1999 May 1999	Graduate Assistant, Center for Public Administration and Policy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Feb. 1989 Feb. 1991	Research Assistant, Department of Public Administration, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea

PUBLICATIONS

2003. "Put Things Together to Get Something Done Better: Collaborative Network among International Organizations." *The Annals of Public Administration Rresearch.* Vol.19: 1-35.

2001. "Taxation on Internet Commerce." *The Annals of Public Administration Rresearch.* Vol.18: 221-246.

2000. "Social Capital, Community Governance, and Civic Capacity in the Korean Local Community." *Korean Public Administration Review*. Vol.34, No.4: 175-196.

2000. "The Study of Promoting Social Capital in Korean Community." *Korean Political Science Review*. Vol. 34, No.4: 219-237.

2000. "Sexual Abuse of Older Adults: Preliminary Findings of Cases in Virginia." *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*. Vol.12, No.3/4: 1-16.

HONORS

Oct. 1998	Member of Pi Alpha Alpha, National Honors Society for Public Affairs and Administration
May 1998	Honorary Citizen of Morgantown